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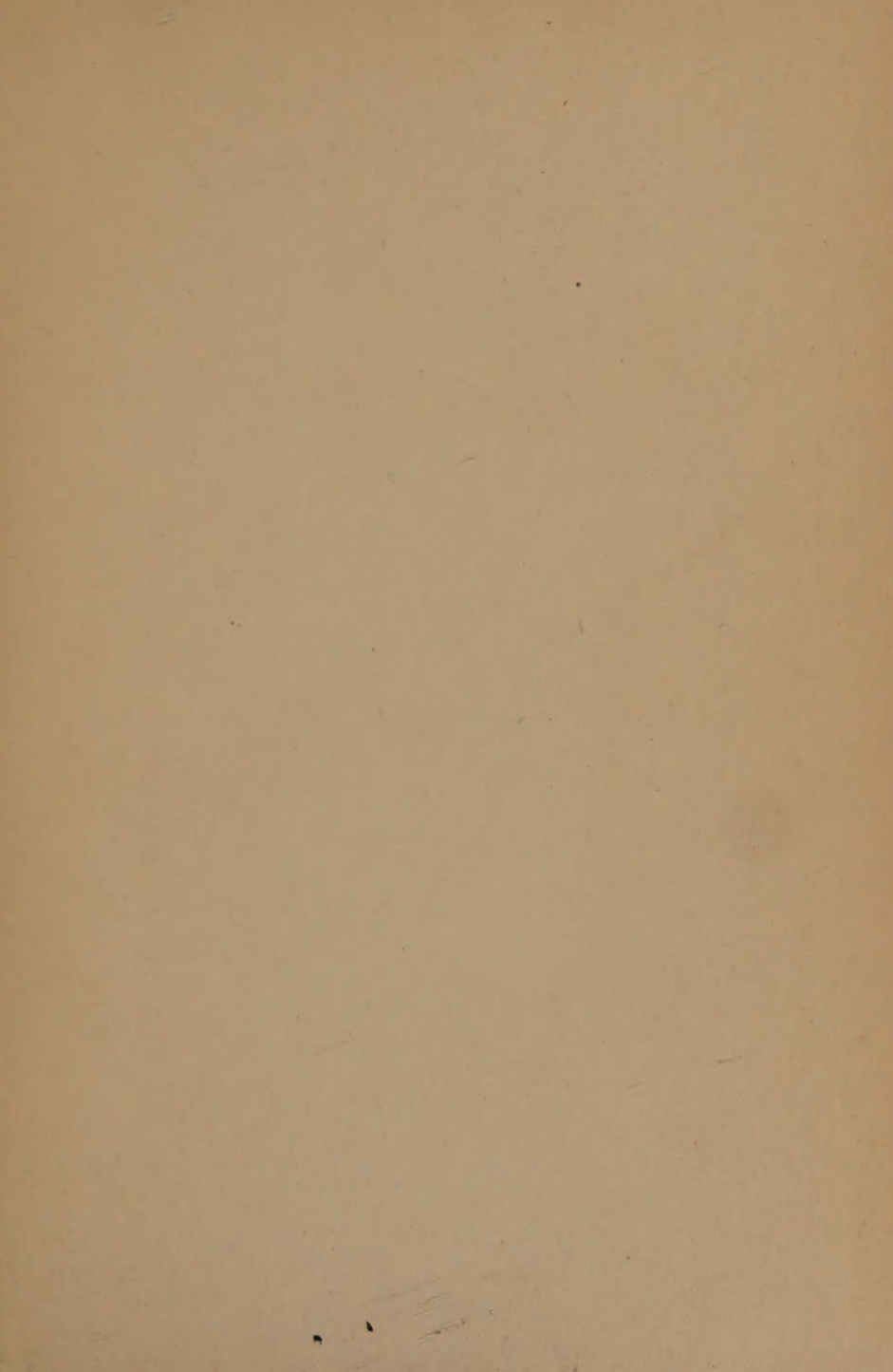
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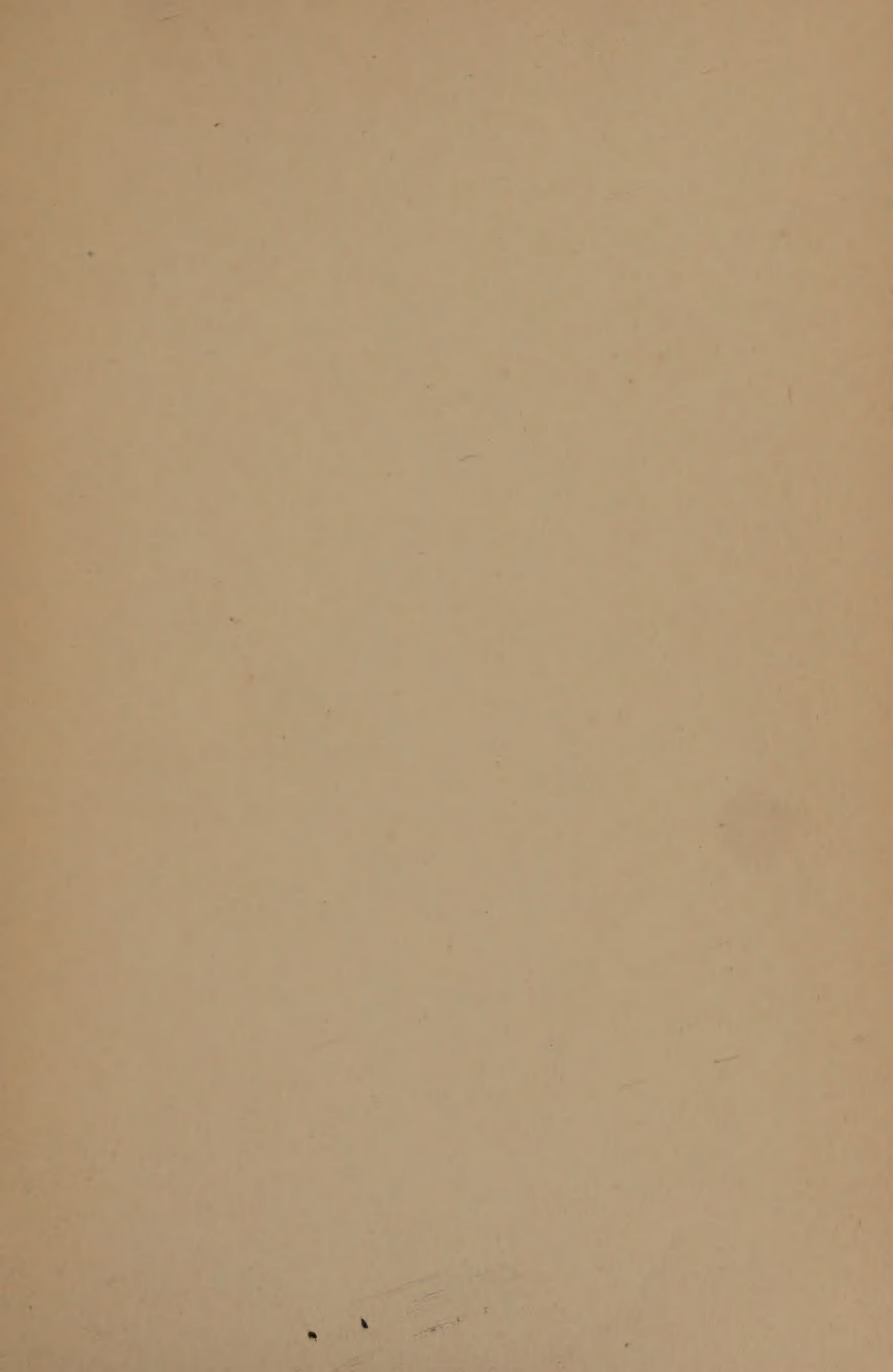


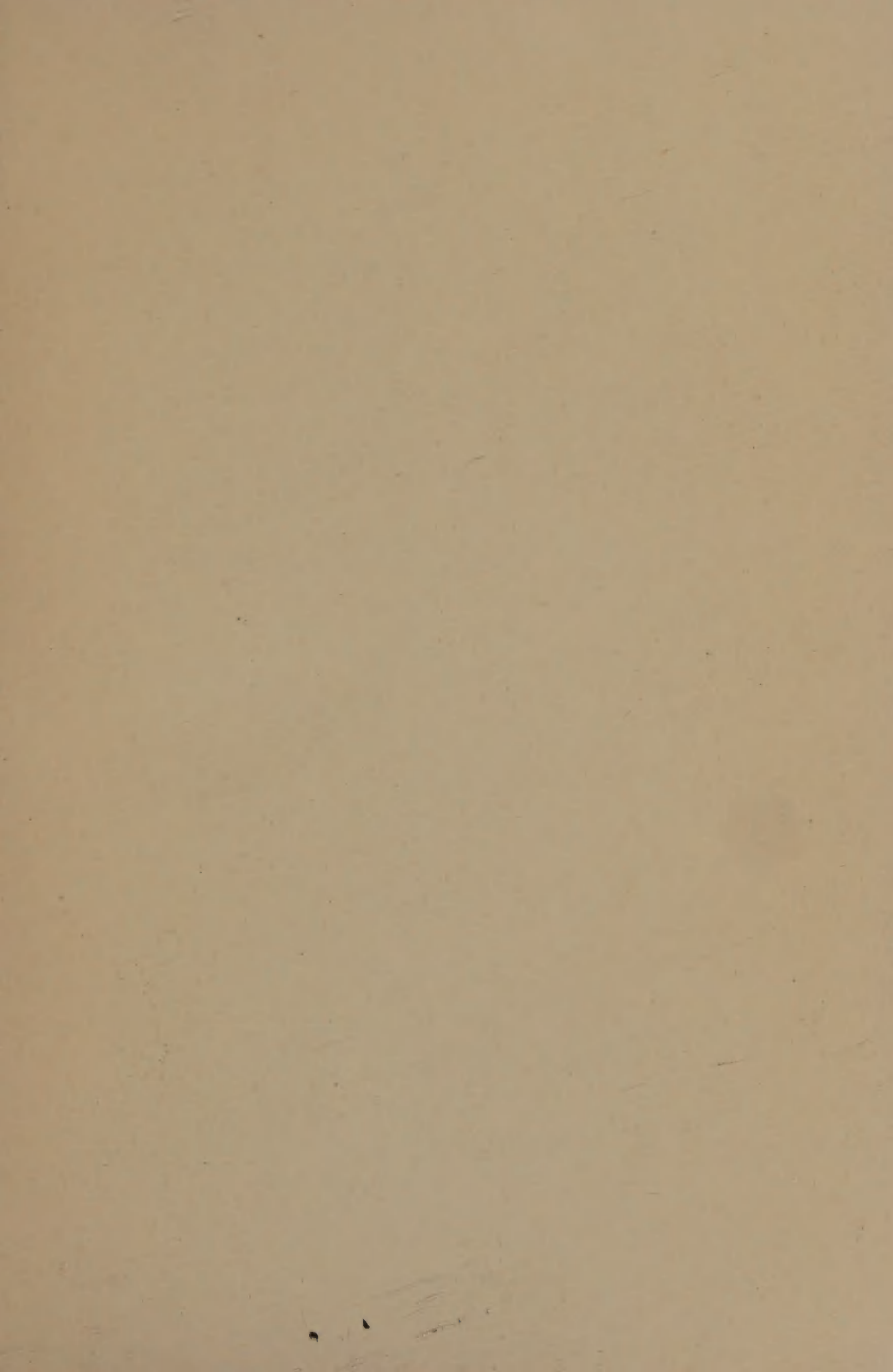
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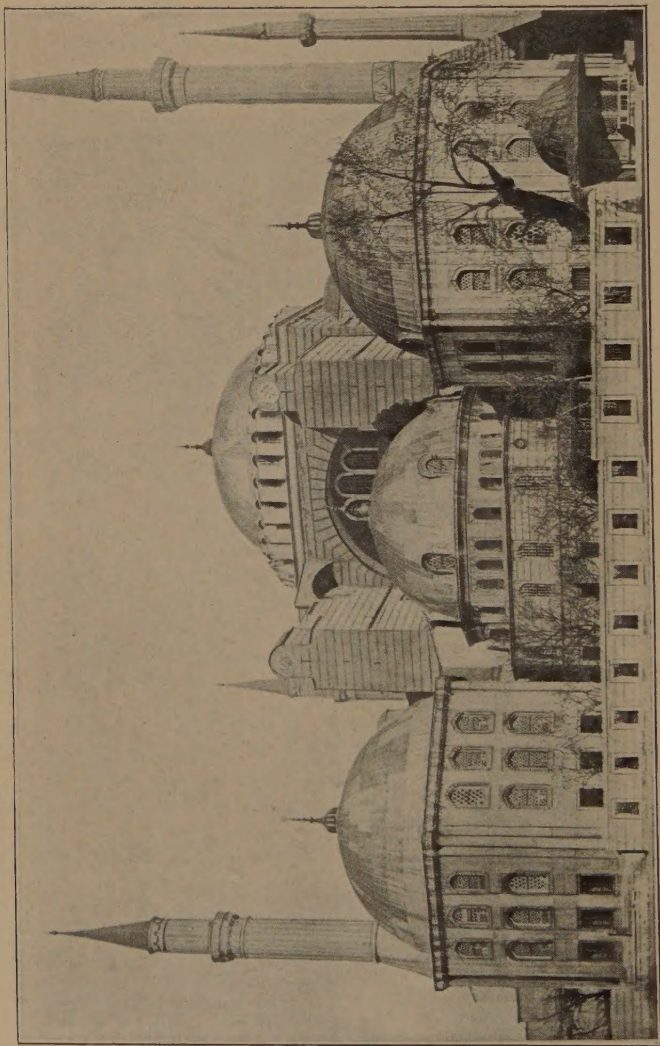
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HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY

GEORGE H. DRYER, D. D.

VOLUME I

BEGINNING OF THE KINGDOM

CINCINNATI: JENNINGS & PYE
NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS

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BEGINNING OF THE KINGDOM

PREFACE.

TWENTY years ago the author became convinced that an urgent need of English-speaking Protestantism was a popular history of the Christian Church. Each year since has deepened his conviction of its necessity for the American Churches and the American people. No Church and no people can afford to be ignorant of its past. Our heritage is the society and civilization into which we are born. These are mainly determined by the history of our country and of the Christian religion. The distinguishing feature of our civilization is that it is Christian. The Man of Galilee uttered words and lived a life by which public opinion judges men and nations. Our developing civilization feels the influence of the centuries of Christian history. Every intelligent man should know, at least in outline, the history of his own land and of the Christian Church. The forces molding the life of our times are the forces active in the one as in the other. Every Christian must rejoice in the knowledge of the providential guidance of the Church of God, and the development and conquests of the Christian religion. Our own life finds help in it, as did that of the psalmist and prophets of the Old, and the apostles of the New Covenant, in the history of Israel. Our hearts can not fail to glow as we see

Christian history lengthening out the muster-roll of the heroes of the faith found in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The gravity of the situation can hardly be overstated. Our schools teach everywhere the unity of nature, the unity of human history. Our Roman Catholic friends have their theory of the unity of Church history, which, however deficient in proof, does not fail in completeness. How, then, do we teach human history—the history of the Christian religion? Our American youth can study in our schools and colleges the history of Greece, of Rome, of Egypt, and of the Oriental nations of antiquity; they can learn the course of the history of the Middle Ages, and the rise of the modern nations; they can, in modern history, find instruction in the history of the United States, England, France, Germany, and other European and Asiatic nations; they can find guidance in universal history, in the history of civilization, the history of literature, of philosophy, of economics, of the special sciences; but where, outside of the theological seminaries, can they study the history of the Christian Church? What Christian college has such a professorship? What Church instructs its own adherents? What reading-course supplies this lack? Can we afford to ignore Christian history? Are the divisions of Protestantism so fundamental that Protestants can not teach it? Have not even the errors and failures of Church history lessons we should heed?

It is believed there is room for a popular history of the Christian Church, which shall be accurate and impartial in its presentation of the facts; which shall

give the life and movement of the times; which shall show the development and effect of the controlling forces of the Christian life and factors of Christian history; and which shall give its readers some acquaintance with the greatest names in the recorded life of the Church, such as they have with Washington or Cromwell, with Napoleon or Bismarck. Such a history should be upon the shelves of the Church and Sunday-school libraries, welcomed by Young People's Societies and Reading Courses, and read and enjoyed in the family circle.

This book has been written for popular use. It is hoped it will have interest for those who only hear it read aloud. Yet care has been taken and accuracy sought that its arrangement and presentation of facts may afford material for careful study and independent judgment. While the author's opinions have not been concealed, he has endeavored to distinguish them from the statement of facts. It is believed it will not fail in inspiration and suggestion.

These considerations have determined the method employed in its composition. The aim has been to place the reader in the midst of the Christian life of the time. For this purpose the life of the state and the conditions of society have been presented in detail. These were as real to the Christians of those times as are to us our politics, economic and social conditions; indeed, they were much more directly affected by them. The history of the Church is more than the record of doctrines and usages which it rejected or retained; it is the record of life; and the Church which conquered the Roman Empire and its Teutonic invaders was very much alive. Because of

the differences of opinion as to the teaching and tendencies of the early Church, these have been presented largely in the language of the writers of the time. Those who read this history are entitled to the testimony of the best authorities. It would have been a pleasure to give foot-notes and references; but for its purpose, the arrangement of the literature at the head of the chapters has been thought more serviceable. On controverted questions space forbids the statement of different views; the materials for judgment, so far as possible, have been given, and the conclusion in the words of men eminent for their ability, learning, and impartiality. Such are Bishop Lightfoot, on the Christian Ministry; Canon Gore, on the Papal Supremacy; Professor Ramsay, on Apostolic Succession; and Dr. C. W. Bennett, on Baptism. In one passage, Mr. Lecky's summary of Eusebius, and in another Mr. Hodgson's of Procopius, have been given because a study of the original authors made clear that it would be difficult to improve them in faithfulness and effectiveness. An attempt has been made to show the relation of this history to forms of Church-life with which we are familiar, and for this purpose sometimes the bounds of the period have not been strictly observed. I wish to acknowledge the courtesy and kindness received for six years from the librarian and assistant of the Rochester Theological Seminary, and aid given by the Royal Library of Berlin. In addition to the reading of the works of Professor Harnack, I am glad to acknowledge the increased obligation from hearing two courses of his lectures on this period. I am most indebted to him in the treatment of Gnos-

ticism, Manichæism, the Christological Controversies, and Augustine.

The preparation of this volume has been the delight, as well as the toil of years. The inspiration of such noble company and triumphant faith has blessed my life. I owe the deepest personal obligation for help ministered to practical Christian living by men as far removed from each other, and as little attractive to my choice, as John Calvin and St. Anthony. Every genuine Christian life has help in it. It is hoped that this work may aid in making evident the unity of all Christians in the personal abiding of the risen Lord and the ministration of the Holy Ghost—a unity which compasses all divisions and generations of the race, and unites the Church in earth and heaven.

May this presentation of the unity of Christian history, and the power and supremacy of the spiritual and moral forces of the Christian religion, aid in the advancement of the kingdom of God among men, and reveal the glory of the reigning Christ on whom the ages wait!

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LITERATURE.

MANY books are, doubtless, omitted which might well have had a place here. The list is sufficiently complete, however, for the use of the average student.

ON THE WHOLE PERIOD.

For the writings of the fathers in the original tongues, "Migne's *Cursus Patrologiæ*," found in all the larger libraries, is full and complete. It has been used for this volume except for the apostolic fa-

Sources.

thers, where Harnack and Gebhardt and Zahn's "*Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*," and Bishop Lightfoot's "*Apostolic Fathers*," 4 vols., have been preferred; Vallarsi's edition of "*Jerome*" has been used; the "*Monumenta Germaniæ*" of Pertz and his successors have been consulted; also, Bouquet's "*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*," and the "*Acta Sanctorum*" of the Bollandists. The source for the English reader is the "*Ante-Nicene Library of the Fathers*." I would gladly have conformed my quotations to this text, but for the fact that my own copy was beyond the sea. The volume containing the works of Eusebius, ably and helpfully edited by Dr. McGiffert, is sold by itself.

Neander and Gieseler are unsurpassed in their use of the sources, but their style and plan commends them only to the serious student. The text-books of Hase and Kurtz are well known and valuable. Moeller's is the last and best of the works of German scholars translated into English. The work of Karl Müller is concise and much more readable, but is not yet translated. The reader should be warned against

Histories of the Church.

wasting his time upon translations of Mosheim's history. Milman's "History of Christianity" is well written, and should be read with Gibbon. Milman's "History of Latin Christianity" is a much better work; Vol. I treats of this period. Schaff's "Church History" is good, the work of a scholar, but diffuse. Professor Sheldon's "Church History" is equally scholarly, but more concise. It is an able, but not a specially popular book; the history of doctrines is treated in a separate work. There are no better Church histories written in one volume than those of Dr. George P. Fisher and Bishop J. F. Hurst. The former excels in his treatment of the theological development, while the latter is particularly valuable on the modern history of the Church. The limitations imposed upon an author who writes a history of the Church in one volume, is shown in the fact that the history of the first six centuries covers, in Dr. Fisher's work, 146, and 100 pages in that of Bishop Hurst. The Church histories of Alzog and Hergenrother present the Roman Catholic view. The former is translated, and is the more impartial on this period. Neander, or Schaff, with Gibbon and Milman, will give a good view of the course of events in Church and State. De Pressensé's series of volumes on this time is readable and interesting. Of great value are special articles in Herzog's "Real Encyclopædia," McClintock and Strong's "Encyclopædia," Smith and Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and Smith and Cheetham's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities."

PART I.—CHAPTER I.—THE EMPIRE OF ROME.

Authorities.

The best work on this period in English is Merivale's "Empire under the Romans," 7 vols. Valuable are Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Vols. I and II, and Mommsen's "History of Rome," Vol. V. Smaller works are Merivale's or Pelham's "History of Rome,"

in one volume. Fisher's "Beginnings of Christianity," and Inge's "Society in Rome Under the Cæsars," are interesting and helpful.

German authorities are: Mommsen and Marquardt's "Römische Alterthümer," 6 vols.; Schiller-Voigt's "Römische Alterthümer. Hermann Schiller's "Römische Kaiserzeit," 3 vols., is an excellent work.

CHAPTER II.—THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Authorities.

Schurer's "History of the Jews in the Time of Christ" is the best single work. Stapfer's "Palestine in the Time of Christ" is interesting and in one volume. Weiss's is the best "Life of Christ;" Conybeare and Howson not surpassed on "St. Paul." Westcott's "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" and "History of the Canon of the New Testament" are excellent. Reuss's "History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures" shows the growth of the Canon. "The Introduction to the New Testament," of Dr. Bernhard Weiss, and Dr. Sanday's Bampton Lecture on "Inspiration," are the best helps accessible to the English student. Bishop Lightfoot's "Essays on Supernatural Religion" are invaluable as discussions of the value of the evidence on which a judgment must be based. Neander's "Planting and Training of the Christian Church" is well worth reading, but the later authorities should be read first. The sections on the beginnings of Christianity in the Church Histories and Histories of Doctrines should be consulted.

PART I.—CHAPTER III.—THE PERSECUTIONS.

Sources.

The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, and Lactantius,—nothing can take the place of these. They are found with "The Martyrs of Lyons," and

the "Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas," in the "Ante-Nicene Library of the Fathers." With them should be read the "Ecclesiastical History" of Eusebius.

Special Works.

Schultze's "Untergang des Griechischen und Römischen Heidenthums," 2 vols., is the best work on the subject. Excellent and interesting is Ulhorn's "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism." The treatment of the subject in Lecky's "History of European Morals" deserves attention. See also Donaldson's article, "Celsus," in the Ency. Brit. There is no better work in one volume than Ramsay's "Church and Roman Empire."

PART I.—CHAPTER IV.—THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE OF ROME.

Sources.

Gregory of Tours "Historia Francorum;" Salvian's "De Gubernatione Dei;" Sulpicius Severus's "Chronica;" Apollinaris Sidonius's "Epistolæ;" Procopius's "De Bello Gothico."

The best authorities are: Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Findlay's "History of Greece," Vol. I, Hodgkin's "Italy and Her Invaders," 6 vols. In German, the section in Hauck's "Kirchengeschichte in Deutschland" is excellent. Specially commended are Oznam's "Byzantine Empire," in the "Story of the Nations" series, and Bryce's article, "Justinian," in Ency. Brit.

PART I.—CHAPTER V.—THE BARBARIANS.

Authorities.

Gregory of Tours, Procopius, as in the last chapter; Tacitus's "Germania," with the references in Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico;" Gregory I's "Epistolæ;" the lives of Saints Patrick, Columba, Severinus, and Colum-

ban (compare Gibbon and Hodgkin); Guizot's "History of Civilization." Dahn's Weitersheim's "Völkerwanderung" is a German authority. Bradley's "History of the Goths," in the "Story of the Nations" series, is an admirable treatment of the subject. Maclear's "Apostles of Mediæval Europe," and Smith's "Mediæval Missions," are good books.

PART II.—CHAPTER I.—TEACHING OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

Authorities.

Hagenbach's, Shedd's, Sheldon's, and Harnack's "History of Doctrines." Shedd is written in good style and strongly Calvinistic; Sheldon is accurate and excellent; Harnack's is the latest and best of the German works; the German edition is used here. The sources are the New Testament and the "Apostolic Fathers;" the latter are found in the "Ante-Nicene Library."

Special Works.

Weiss's "Biblical Theology of the New Testament;" Wendt's "Teaching of Jesus." Schmidt's "Biblical Theology of the New Testament," is old but still useful. Bishop Lightfoot's excursus in his Commentary on the Galatians, and published separately in his "Dissertations" on "St. Paul and the Three," will always be worthy of thoughtful attention.

PART II.—CHAPTER II.—THE FOUNDING OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.—ORIGEN.

Sources.

Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Clement, and Origen in the "Ante-Nicene Library." The source for the Life of Origen is Eusebius's "Ecclesiastical History."

Special Works.

Bigg's "Christian Platonists of Alexandria;" Hatch's "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the

Christian Church;" Farrar's "History of Interpretation." Westcott's "Origen," in his "Christian Thought in the West," is an admirable study. Patrick's "Apology of Origen against Celsus" is an excellent edition for the English reader.

PART II.—CHAPTER III.—DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.—
CREED OF NICÆA.

Sources.

Works of Athanasius, "Ante-Nicene Library;" works of Gregory of Nyssa, "Post-Nicene Library."

Special Works.

Dorner's "Doctrine of the Person of Christ;" Gwatkin's "Studies in Arianism;" Bright's "Introductions" to his editions of "Athanasius."

Hefele's "History of the Councils" is learned and fair; the first two volumes, covering this period, are translated into English. Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom" gives the creeds in the original and translation. The 21st chapter of Bishop Hurst's "Church History" gives an admirable summary. Liddon's "The Divinity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" is strongly commended.

PART II.—CHAPTER IV.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE PERSON
OF CHRIST.

Authorities.

Dorner and Hefele, as in the preceding chapter. Harnack's treatment of this period, in his "History of Doctrines," is very full and suggestive. Gore's "Life of Leo the Great."

PART II.—CHAPTER V. —PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY.

Sources.

Works of Augustine in "The Post-Nicene Library."
See all the Histories of Doctrine.

Special Works.

Reuter's "Augustinische Studien;" Allen's "Continuity of Christian Thought," strongly commended; Dorner's article, "Augustinus," in Herzog's Real Ency.

PART III.—THE NEW RULERS OF THE NEW WORLD.

Sources.

Works of Cyprian in "Ante-Nicene Library;" Augustine in "Post-Nicene Library;" Ambrose, Leo, Gregory, in Migne "Patrologia;" Bright's "Sermons of Leo I."

Special Works.

Hatch's "Organization of the Early Christian Churches." Hatch's "Origin of Church Institutions" treats of a later period but is very valuable. Hatch's article, "Priest," in the "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities." Articles in the "Expositor," 1887, give the different views of the origin of episcopacy. Ramsay's "The Church and the Roman Empire." Greenwood's "Cathedra Petri" is full and accurate, the first two volumes are on this period. Geffken's "Church and State," 2 volumes. Article "Pope" in Ency. Brit. H. C. Lea's "History of Sacerdotal Celibacy" is a most impartial and important work, and should be read by every student. See also lives of Ambrose; Augustine; Leo I, by Canon Gore; Gregory I, by Bramley.

PART IV.—WORSHIP AND DISCIPLINE.

Sources.

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Part First.

THE CONQUEST.

25



MAP
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

L. B. Folger Eng. Lith.

CHAPTER I.

THE EMPIRE OF ROME.

IN the last four hundred years the wealth and power of the race and the seats of civilization have passed from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Thames and the Spree, the Neva and the Seine. The transfer across the Atlantic would not be more momentous than this change of the center of all lands from the southern to the northern side of the Alps. The transition is from the leadership and dominion of Europe to that of the globe; from following in the wake of a mighty past to the new era, in which the conquests of the Christian faith and civilization are bound by no lands and shut in by no seas, but constitute the true dominion of the world.

This shifting of the center of civilization and authority renders the restoration of the Papal dominion, whether temporal in Italy or spiritual in Christendom, as vain as the restoration of the Roman Empire. Rome can never again rule the world. The landlocked Mediterranean can never again be the great highway of commerce and seat of government. The navies of the world and the argosies of its commerce must ride on deeper waters and connect more widely-sundered lands. For the first time in two thousand years, Rome no longer holds the leadership of the world.

If now we live in a Rome-less world, we need to know, at least in outline, the world in which Rome bore rule; what Rome was; the work she wrought; the presence and influence which filled and pervaded the ages. This is essential to any true understanding of the early Christian centuries. Freeman did not exaggerate when he said: "That Christianity should become the religion of the Roman Empire, is the miracle of history; but that it did so become, is the leading fact of all history, from that day onwards."

To bring a dead world and society to life again, is no easy task; but it is the only way to make history of value; and when the art of the historian accomplishes this, there is a delight such as no creations of the novelist can give, since there is an equal exercise of the imagination, while the great men and events of the past become our teachers, and we trace the action of forces which underlie all history, and therefore the times in which we live.

To understand the Empire of Rome, we shall need a comprehensive view of the lands in which she ruled; a clear conception of her power and government through a comparison with the Empire of Britain; to trace, in a few strokes, the character and career of her rulers; to see the forms of her Government, the structure of her society, and glance at those economic conditions of trade, manufactures, and agriculture which determine the national well-being of a people. While making Roman society and rule live again, we are to remember that Rome was the mightiest antagonist and most relentless persecutor the Christian faith ever had. The sternest conflict was waged for centuries, and the victory decided for all time the fate

of the contest between Christianity and every form of heathenism. The time will not be lost in which we seek to live in that Roman world in which our Lord was born, the apostles labored, and the Christian Church was founded and came to victory.

No fairer lands were ever united under a single rule than those of Rome. They descend toward and surround the Mediterranean Sea. This sea The Lands
of Rome. lies for two thousand miles between Africa and Europe. The distance from Gibraltar to Syria is as great as from New York to Denver. It is ten times the size of all the great lakes which The Medi-
terranean. flow into the St. Lawrence. It was the maritime highway of the Roman world. Grouped upon its shores arose the seats of ancient civilization and modern power. Around its eastern end lay Egypt, the land of the earliest historic civilization; Phœnicia, through whose hands Assyrian and Babylonian culture reached the West, and from whose cities of Sidon and Tyre sprang the letters and commerce of the ancient world; Greece, the mistress of literature and art; and Palestine, from whose tribes came forth the religion which has ruled all the ages since. On the southern shore stood Carthage, daughter of Tyre and rival of Rome. The peninsula of Spain shuts in its western end. On its soil arose the power which freed the land from the Moslem, conquered and possessed for three hundred years the Western Continent, and during the sixteenth century ruled as the mightiest power in Europe. France, once a powerful monarchy, and now a great republic, forms part of its northern coast. Genoa, Pisa, Florence, and above all Venice, controlled its commerce

and grew opulent through its trade. At the eastern end is the great Balkan peninsula. From its metropolis, Constantinople, the Moslem power ruled for four hundred years the nations east of the Adriatic. The power which commanded the Mediterranean ruled the Western world and Western civilization, and determined the destiny of those European races which, through conquest and dominion, were to people and possess other continents.

Italy is the central and fairest of the three northern peninsulas; it extends for seven hundred miles into the great Mediterranean—twice the length of the peninsula of Florida. Half-way down on its western side the yellow Tiber finds its way to the sea. Fourteen miles from its mouth, on seven small hills which clustered about its banks, was founded the city of Rome. Her situation, as well as the martial virtues of her citizens, made her the center of trade and source of authority in all the lands from the Alps to the Atlas, and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the River Euphrates. Although the arms of her legions carried the rule of Rome to the shores of the Atlantic and German Oceans, the Black, Caspian, and Red Seas, to the banks of the Rhine and Danube, yet Rome was essentially, in all ages, a Mediterranean power. The mighty power which filled and ruled this scene finds its most instructive parallel in the rule of modern Britain. As the island of Great Britain is but the base of operations and home of the great captains of her civilization, of the governors of provinces which are empires, the commanders of the trade and commerce of the world, so Italy was

**The Rule of
Rome compared with
that of Great
Britain.**

but the base of the Roman power and the home of the governing race. Britain, like Rome, is the greatest colonizing and civilizing power of the world. Her commerce and her colonies are followed by her conquests and dominion. Britain is as eager as Rome for commercial and naval supremacy. A glance at the map will show how she commands the strategic points of maritime intercourse. The control of the ocean routes by Bermuda, Jamaica, St. Helena, Cape Town, Aden, Bombay, Ceylon, Singapore, and Hong Kong make this evident. So, in the Mediterranean, she holds Gibraltar, Cyprus, and Egypt. Whatever powers rule its shores, upon its waters Britain reigns supreme. Rome was seven hundred years in accomplishing this result; but so thoroughly was the work of conquest done, that she wielded the scepter of its sway for five hundred years from the Tiber, and for more than a thousand years from Constantinople. As the drum-beat of Britain is heard around the world, so the supremacy of Rome rested on the valor of her legions. Britain enlists and drills natives of all lands—Sepoys, Sikhs, Goorkas, and Arabs—in her armies of conquest and possession. So Rome recruited and re-enforced her proudest legions from the allies and mercenaries of Gaul and Britain, from the Germans and Goths.

As wealth and trade, government and civilization, in the British Empire, center on the banks of the Thames, so far more intensely did that of the great Empire of Rome center in its capital by the Tiber. As the British Parliament is the supreme source of authority and court of appeal from America, Africa, and Australia, and to subject princes and nations in

India, so were the Roman Senate and the Roman emperors to the subject-lands of Rome. The power which conquers plains and oceans allows, and necessarily reserves, a greater freedom of government and administration than was ever known to the provinces of Rome. Widely different from any pagan culture and rule is the rule of the British Empire through the acceptance, as corner-stones of its dominion, of the Christian religion, constitutional government, and personal liberty, civil and religious. Still, some startling resemblances confront us. In colonies, conquests, and government, Rome was easily chief in the ancient, as Britain is in the modern world. Her rule brought order, prosperity, and the arts and achievements of civilization. Law, equitable administration, improved social usages, and the best roads in the world followed in the train of the armies of Rome, as they do to-day the conquests of Britain. Into the sphere of this dominion came the religion of Christ.

Our Lord was born in the age of Augustus—the great age of Roman rule. The first Roman emperor **The Rulers of this Empire** had reigned twenty-seven years “when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king.” Thus the beginning of the Roman Empire and the Christian religion were in the same generation.

If Julius laid the foundation for the fortune and throne of the Cæsars, Augustus consolidated their **The Cæsars.** power and established the empire. His successors in the direct line ended with the brutal and cruel Nero. Tiberius had been a worn-out debauchee and misanthrope; Caligula a madman; Claudius little better than an imbecile; while

the last of the Julian house was the murderer of his brother, Britannicus, and his mother, Agrippina.

After the short revolutionary reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, Vespasian founded the Flavian line of emperors.

Revolu-
tionary
Emperors.

The Flavian house, with the exception of the crafty and bloodthirsty Domitian, formed a succession of the best rulers among the emperors of Rome. Vespasian, Titus, and Trajan were generals worthy of Rome's noblest time.

Flavian
Emperors.
69-192.

Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius were cultivated men and enlightened rulers. They secured the best results possible from imperial despotism; they postponed the fall, but could not maintain the prosperity of the Roman State. Gibbon placed in their reign the greatest average happiness of mankind. Strange that he should think the largest happiness of the race to be joined to a decaying nation and a declining state!

Commodus, the last of the Flavian emperors, was succeeded for nearly half a century by the house of Septimus Severus (193-235), and a series of military chieftains, all of whom reigned by the choice or consent of the legions.

The Military
Emperors
192-284.

Of the twenty-six emperors who came to the throne in this period, twenty-two were put to death by their soldiers or by victorious rivals. Of the four others, Decius died in battle, Valerian in captivity, Claudius by pestilence; and only Septimus Severus was excepted from an evil fate.

Diocletian, in order to end this era of military despotism and anarchy, divided the imperial rule among four leading generals, and crowned his system by his

own abdication. Though other claimants disputed the imperial authority with Constantine, and though the apostate Julian reigned for two years as the last of the house of the first Christian emperor, yet, in any real sense, Diocletian, one of the greatest, was also the last pagan emperor of Rome.

To trace the reign and fortunes of these emperors in detail may seem more interesting than to cause to live about us the society and institutions in which they moved. The latter may require a stronger effort of the imagination and a larger fund of information. Yet the reward is greater; we then have the background and setting for the lives and deeds of those men who made glorious the page of Christian history, and can measure, to some extent, the influence of those uncounted thousands who founded and gave victory to the Christian Church. The life of the greatest man has a narrow limit; institutions sum up and crystallize the most serviceable endeavors of the ablest men, and of society, and transmit them from generation to generation. Some knowledge of Roman institutions will not only give form and shape to the life and society of the time, but will help us to understand the Christian institutions as well.

ROMAN GOVERNMENT.

The Roman Republic and Empire was, first of all, a city state. Rome, the city, ruled until the extent of her conquests made impossible the exercise of the imperial power through a city magistracy chosen by a portion of her inhabitants. Even then the old forms of a city government survived in the State under the empire, while Roman

society and civilization found its centers in the city communities of the provinces, which were formed and administered after the model of the capital.

The Government of Rome for five hundred years combined rotation in office with skill, experience, and stability never equaled. The officers were, as a rule, annually elected; but the governing body was an official aristocracy, holding offices for life, yet annually recruited from the body of the citizens.

We may have a better understanding of this organization if we suppose its principles applied to the government of an American State. Then, if its officers were annually elected, and not eligible to successive re-election, the governor and lieutenant-governor would represent the consuls; the judges of the State, the prætors; the Board of Public Works, the ædiles; the comptroller and treasurer, the quæstors; the State assessors, if chosen once in five years, the censors; the attorney-general, chosen to defend the rights of the people, the tribunes. To its College of Pontiffs, with pontifex maximus at its head, caring for the interests of religion and holding offices for life, we, of course, have no official representatives. If, then, these officials had to begin their course with the office considered lowest in the list—that of treasurer—and advance, though by popular election, yet in graded succession, and after serving their term of office, they became the life-members of the State Legislature, the only law-making and governing body; if they should choose, by their own election, the members of their body who should keep their number up to the legal limit of 300, and later 600 members; and if the property qualification of the

members was \$1,600, and later \$40,000, we would have a fair picture of the magistracy and Senate of Rome. If the President of the United States should become an absolute ruler, and himself appoint those officers whom he chose to remain, assuming to himself the tribunate, the censorships, and the office of pontifex maximus, and then should fill all the vacancies in the number of the senators, generally with their consent, but sometimes without, we would have the image of that administration under the imperial rule.

Under the empire, the Senate formed an aristocratic body of men chosen for life, whose duty was rather to consult with the emperor than to legislate, like the Senate of the Napoleonic *régime* in France. It exercised authority in conjunction with the emperor for the first two centuries of our era, was oppressed by the military emperors of the third century, and became merely the Municipal Council of Constantinople under Constantine.

Of much greater import than the waning influence of the Senate and Roman magistracy, which more and more merged into the imperial authority, were the cities and municipalities of the empire, which were formed and ruled by the spirit and power of the earlier time. Rome was a city state; its civilization was a civilization begun, developed, ruled, and almost confined to cities. When, at the founding of the empire, the rule of Rome ceased to be the rule of one city, it became the rule of the cities and municipalities of her provinces. Whatever of talent or genius for government remained in the empire, came from these communities to the cap-

ital and to the chief offices of the State; for in these municipalities, in their administration and government, was preserved all of liberty, of independent civil and political life, left in Their Government. this great despotism. In Italy they were formed as the conquests of the Republic advanced. In France and Spain, they were established at all the centers of trade, government, and population. So, in the conquered lands to the north and east of Italy, and in Britain, they formed the centers and support of Roman power, society, and civilization. In the East, in a land of cities, Rome sometimes entered into an alliance with them, whereby they preserved the freedom of their administration by the payment of the taxes in a stated sum; sometimes they obtained or accepted the privileges accorded by their conquerors to the civic communities of the West. In any event, their government conformed more and more, though with the retention of the old names for their officers, to the city organizations of the West.

The administration of a Roman provincial city was committed to two men chosen annually by, and from among, those of the population who The City Magistracy. had the right of citizenship, for the exercise of the judicial and religious authority of the city. They were called *Duumviri jure dicundo*; that is, two men who give the law. With these were chosen two men who had charge of the police, the public buildings, streets, roads, and city property; they were called *Ædiles*. These officials are assisted by two treasurers or *quæstors*. The *Duumviri* represented the consuls, prætors, and pontifex maximus of Rome, discharging duties like theirs. They appointed censors, who were

a part of the city magistracy, held their office for five years, and who drew up the list of all the assessable property in the city and its territory upon which was based the imperial taxation, for administrative and judicial districts were grouped around the cities. The city officers passed in succession through the grades of its magistracy, and possessed a considerable property qualification. When they had served their term of office, they became life-members of the Senate of the city—more often called Decurionate, and its members decurions. This City Council had in the municipality, in domestic matters, all the authority of the Roman Senate. Its number was fixed by the act of the Senate at Rome, which was the charter of the city; but it could not exceed one hundred. It was composed of the city officers who had served their terms, and of certain prominent men, enough to make up the legal number, who were chosen by the Council on account of especial merit or worth. For the first century of our era, these city offices, which led to lifelong Decurionate and its honors, were eagerly sought by rich men, who, upon their entry into a city magistracy, gave expensive games or erected some public building to signalize their term of office. As this Council of Decurions were responsible personally for all the taxes of the city and its allotted surrounding territory, so that, if they failed to collect the amount from the property of the inhabitants, they had to pay it out of their own pockets, the office, in the increasing expense of the Imperial Government and poverty of the population, came to be a burden instead of a privilege. After 200, the Council of Decurions was only a corpora-

tion for the collection of taxes. The emperor had the right to confirm the city magistrates. If suitable (wealthy) ones did not present themselves, he could nominate through the senior Duumviri, which was an election not to be declined. So he could, and by his officers did, fill up the number of vacant places in the decurionate. Thus no wealthy man escaped the obligations of making good the taxes. Hence the city aristocracy was one of wealth; for the wealthy classes controlled all official positions.

This tendency was increased by the institution of the Augustales. These were six men, partly free and partly rich freedmen, chosen to have charge of the worship of the emperors. They ^{Augustales.} were elected by the decurions on account of their wealth. On their election, they gave great games and paid a large sum into the city treasury as qualification for office. With the worship of living emperors in many ways was connected the existing rites or worship of Mercury, Hercules, Castor and Pollux. The native and local worships were almost unlimited. The Duumviri of each city chose the pontifices and augurs. Religion was bound up with every official action of the community. Its prosperity was inseparably connected with the strict observance of religious rites.

The emperor exercised his rule through the governors of provinces. They were called proconsuls, proprætors, or procurators, and had the rank and dignity and governed as imperial viceroys. Their importance depended upon the wealth and resources of the province they ruled. Paul appeared before them at Cyprus, at Corinth, and at Cæsarea. They

presided often at the persecutions and martyrdom of Christians. They secured the public peace, the administration of the law, and the collection of the revenue. They made real the rule of Rome. Under them were the officials, civil and military, necessary to carry on the Imperial Government as now in India. In fact, the British governors of India and her provinces afford the nearest parallel. Præfects were officers sent out annually as representatives of the Roman prætor, to administer justice in the colonies and municipalities. Sent by the emperor, they represented the Imperial Government and its administration. The name and no small part of the functions of the office survive in the French prefect.

Thus we have passed in review the governmental institutions of the Roman State and of her cities. With these the early Christians had daily to do; they formed the framework and substance sometimes, as with Paul, of their defense, and sometimes, as in his case, of their condemnation and martyrdom; for in this survey we must not forget the position and person of the emperor, who ruled with absolute sovereignty over a larger population than any European sovereign since, unless we except Queen Victoria since the English crown undertook the government of India in 1857. To a rule always liable to the caprices of despotism, and sometimes base and horrible beyond description, was added the most prevalent of all religious and official rites—the worship of the living emperors of Rome. However dry these matters of administration and government are to us, to the early Christians they were of the most intense interest,

because upon the disposition of the Roman governor, or the magistrates of a Roman city, might depend the life or death of the Christian missionary, or of those converted through his preaching.

If persecution and martyrdom depended upon the disposition of Roman governors and magistrates, there was no intermission of the pressure of Roman taxation. The slave portion of the Christian population alone escaped it, and its effects were felt long after the empire ceased to be pagan. Therefore, a glance at it will help us to understand the life of that time. Upon conquest—and all the lands of Rome were conquered territory—the real estate of a province became the property of the Roman people, or of the State. The inhabitants were left in possession upon the payment of a *tributum*, or annual tax, which was the rent. This was usually one-tenth of the produce of the land; often one-fifth; seldom as little as one-twentieth. The cities had to care for the assessment—the raising and payment of the taxes. They were bound together into provinces, or dioceses, in which the governor held a Provincial Assembly each year, composed of the deputies of these cities and communes. This Provincial Union was bound together by the worship of the emperors. The high priest was a very eminent man; he had charge of the financial administration of the Union, presided at the Provincial Assembly, and at the public games. These Assemblies cared for the financial administration; the erection of commemorative monuments; they chose the high priest, and made complaints against the governor, and sent them, through their ambassador, to the emperor

Roman
Taxation.

or the Senate. We easily see how the Roman Administration and State represented to the Christians that idolatry which they loathed, and which brought them to prison and to death.

While the Roman system of taxes in their assessment had commendable features of definiteness for a fixed period, and local adjustment, yet their collection was as merciless, impolitic, and destructive as can well be conceived. In the first place, all the direct taxes—that is, all but the fixed tribute—were sold to the highest bidder. The collection of these was undertaken by great stock companies of publicani, hence publicans, who had to deposit a large sum as **Collection of the Taxes.** security with the State. They must collect the taxes or be financially ruined. Their profit was the sum raised in excess of the wants of the State, and they had every motive to oppress and drain dry the tax-payer. Not less certain of economic ruin was the system of collection of the direct taxes. The collective property of the wealthy citizens who formed the Decurionate, or City Council, was the guarantee for the annual taxes of the city and adjacent districts. In this way the State was sure of a fixed revenue at the beginning of the financial year. But the results were disastrous. If through bad harvests, epidemics, or tempests, or from slower and more certain causes, the city or district decreased in population or wealth, we may be certain that the strongest members of the community—its wealthy aristocracy—would use every means to collect the taxes before impoverishing themselves. The laws were harsh and severe. The freeman who could not pay the poll or property tax was sold into slavery, and his family

also, if necessary to make up the required amount. Thus, if a city or district began to decline, its ruin was progressively accelerated. The possessor of little property either left for more favored regions, or sunk into helpless slavery. The land went out of cultivation, so that slaves became a burden rather than a source of profit. This rigid and inhuman system of taxation was one great cause of the increasing poverty and economic ruin of the Roman Empire. Financial administration and taxation, in all ages and in all communities, have a most intimate relation to the welfare of the State.

The early Christians saw before their eyes the power and splendor of the Roman Empire—the great kingdom of “this world”—and felt the pressure of its taxation; but they had to do directly with its society, of which they formed first a hated, and then an antagonistic part. If their life and work is to have meaning for us, we must know something of its structure. In all Roman communities, as in the capital, the Senate, or city official aristocracy, stood at the head. From the Senate, even in imperial times, were chosen the great officers of the court and of the State, the governors of provinces, the commanders of legions, and the higher administrative posts. Below them, at Rome, ranked the knights, a moneyed aristocracy whose ruinous competition and usurious gains impoverished the provinces. Below them were the freedmen—men born in slavery, who became the trusted confidants of their masters, or of great native capacity, who, procuring their freedom, often amassed immense fortunes, and came to the highest posts of influence with the aris-

Roman
Society.

ocracy and in the court, but could never wipe off the stain of their servile origin. In the capital, the middle class died out, and there remained only the citizens who were fed by the State, and the slaves. In the provincial cities, next to the aristocracy of the decurions were the Augustales. Then came the body of the citizens, never large in number in proportion to the inhabitants who could vote for the officers of the municipality. They were artists, handworkers of all kinds, small traders, teachers, and lower government officials, often living from hand to mouth; then the non-voting citizens, mostly foreigners and their descendants, who followed small handicrafts and trades, like the Jews in the Greek cities under Roman rule of St. Paul's time, and to whom he first preached. These became a constantly-diminishing class in the West, as business came more and more into the hands of freedmen. The middle class ceased to exist, and slavery, like a bottomless abyss, swallowed up all below the wealthier classes. In the first century, it is estimated there were more slaves than freemen in the empire. Though recruited no longer to the same extent by war, its ranks were continually replenished by the poverty which made impossible the payment of debts and taxes.

The imperial times saw the most flourishing trade, commerce, industry, manufactures, and agriculture known to ancient peoples or a pagan rule. They also saw their decline. A view of the material conditions of their life can not fail to make us better acquainted with the early Christians.

These favorable conditions were: (1) An unsur-

passed economic domain. It was bounded on the west by the Atlantic, on the south by the Great Desert, on the north by the trackless forests or uncultivated wastes of Germany and Russia; while its trade with Central and Eastern Asia and India, with Eastern and Central Africa, was the foundation of the prosperity of great cities like Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage. (2) To this unsurpassed economic domain Rome gave four hundred **Commerce** years of peace such as the old world never knew, and as are not found in the history of any Oriental civilization. The immense standing army was kept mainly on the frontier. As a rule, the conflicts of pretenders to the empire were not of long duration, and concerned mainly the legionaries, and did not greatly affect the civic inhabitants. When the barbarians burst through the frontier defenses, they found a population unused alike to war and arms. (3) Rome laid down and kept in repair the best and most extensive lines of communication before the construction of railways. (4) She gave a uniform currency and a traffic little hampered by tariff laws to this immense population of diverse nationalities and tongues.

Manufactures felt this increased demand of trade. They made rapid and large advance in the variety and amount of commodities produced. **Manufactures.** The division of labor, the associations of capital (stock companies) and of laborers (guilds, unions, etc.), were never surpassed until our day.

Great advance was made in agricul- **Agriculture.** ture. Improved breeds of cattle and sheep, etc., the introduction of new kinds of trees,

fruits, vegetables, and their higher cultivation, marked the first century of our era.

This economic prosperity did not continue. The causes of its decline were: (1) Slavery, rendering free labor disgraceful and unprofitable; (2) The greed of Roman capitalists, accumulating immense estates and depopulating the fairest portions of Italy; then entering into competition with the manufactures and trade of the provinces, and either breaking down their market or ruining them with high rates of interest; (3) The ruinous system of taxation; (4) The fact that \$5,000,000 more was imported annually from the East than was exported, mainly articles of luxury, and this balance was paid in precious metals, producing, in time, a dearth of coin in the empire. To these should be added the loss of political freedom, and moral deterioration, which renders vain the greatest economic advantages.

In religion, the era of skepticism, profligacy, and debauchery, reaching from Sulla to Nero (B. C. 80–A. D. 69), gave way to better morals under Vespasian, and to a strong craving after the satisfaction of religious needs. These the old Roman religion could not reach. They sought relief in natural theology—the law of the nature of things—like our scientific materialists or agnostics; in philosophy, the teaching of Plato, Zeno, and Plotinus; in worships, with their mysteries, purifications, and symbolism. Meanwhile, religion played a great part in the life of the people. Its officers were the leading officials, as its temples were the most splendid buildings in every community. Its priesthoods were not only supported by the State, but heavily endowed

with private funds. Its idolatry came into the Government, the social and business life, the amusements, and the homes of the people.

The pagan Empire of Rome was the most imposing fabric of human government the world had ever seen. The result of the conquests and wars of the aristocratic Roman Republic, its greatness, had been preparing for more than half a millennium. It had elements of power, of wisdom, and perpetuity beyond any preceding form of human rule. It brought to warring nations peace. It gave a common citizenship and a universal law. Its rise was the golden age of Roman literature and of Roman taste and achievement in art. It made highways for the nations, and fused races, nationalities, philosophies, and religions. Its legions for four hundred years made the Pax Romana, and its governors its jurisprudence, respected from the Firth of Forth to the Euphrates, and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Sea of Azov. The eagles of its dominion and the fasces of its rule traveled unhindered from the cataracts of the Nile to the mouths of the Danube and the Rhine. To this reign of peace and order, breaking down of national and tribal barriers, fusion of customs, ideas, languages, and peoples, there was a reverse side. The material and industrial basis of the Roman Empire was slavery—a slavery enormously increased in numbers by wars of conquest, and beyond all others harsh, relentless, and cruel. To this witness Roman law, Roman industries and prisons, and the Roman amphitheater. The extravagance of the emperors and of the Imperial Administration wasted the wealth of the world, and resulted in a system of taxation so burdensome,

oppressive, and finally destructive, that it impoverished the most fertile countries, diminished and enslaved the population, and made inevitable the ruin of the empire.

A careful student of the time has said: "The pride and luxury of the society which had attained the dominion of the world knew no refinement or restraint such as made the Greek decadence last through centuries; while, in a single generation, the Roman decline rushed into the steep descent of the sensualities and bestialities of society under Nero—an abyss from which it never emerged, and the only hope for whose redemption could be in no philosophic incitement to moral reform, but in a new dogma and a great revelation."

CHAPTER II.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

WE have had before us the outline and proportions of the society and government of the Roman Empire, in which the Christian Church was born, with which it was in conflict for centuries, and which was its first great conquest. Over against the gigantic strength and resources of the one should be set forth those qualities of the other which led to its predominance and triumph; for these things are not arbitrary. God has his laws, which work in every age for the establishment of the Divine kingdom. There is an increasing action of the moral forces of our nature in the Christian sphere. The causes which in the first six centuries prevailed in the overthrow of heathenism in the Roman world are as mighty now for a like conquest in the Orient.

Our Lord sprang out of Judah. The preparation for his advent was mainly with that remarkable race. This preparation was of vast importance and of thrilling interest, but can not be adequately treated here. Its outlines are familiar to those acquainted with the Christian Scriptures and with Christian preaching. Fuller information may be profitably sought in the works of Edersheim and Schurer. The Church was, in its origin, purely Jewish. The apostles and first converts, like their Lord, were of

that race. Under Paul's leadership, the national limits were overpassed. After the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, and its complete overthrow by Hadrian, the Jewish element ceases to be an important factor in the development of the Christian Church. We can never forget our obligation to that people, to whose Scriptures we appeal and of whom our Lord was born. It was their fault and our grief that his own received him not, and that they were the fiercest foes, as they were the first instigators of Christian persecutions.

Not as a product of Jewish development or from any combination with Greek and Roman elements did Christianity originate. It owed its existence and importance to three things, which intrinsically, and certainly in their connection, were unique. They are the character or person of its founder, the doctrines which he taught, and the society which he formed.

The founder of no great historic religion has been an ordinary man. Jesus differed from the greatest of these, not in degree, but in kind. The fulfillment of the mission of other men rested upon what they did, his upon what he was. Other founders of religions wrought to old age. His work closed before they would have begun theirs. He manifested himself but three years to men; and his words were spoken, and finished was his task. His method was equally unique. He did not retire from the world for solitude and reflection, like Buddha or Mahomet; he did not elaborate a system and commit it to writing, like Confucius; he did not meet men in the market-places and at social gatherings for conversation, like

Socrates. He chose the severest test of the greatness of a human personality. He gathered about him a few men from the ordinary walks of life, and lived with them in the closest intimacy of private life and of public ministration. He won men by living with them. The teaching by life has been the chiefest source of all victories since. The whole effect of his mission was the impression he made upon the men thus chosen. It was this impression of the nature of the man which gave weight to his words and made deeds of power seem natural to him. This is the origin of all remembered utterances and narratives which make him known to us. This impression, made by his living with men, reveals a greatness of soul, a sublimity of character, a breadth of sympathy, and a depth of compassion which make him, simply as a man, the noblest, the most attractive, and the most commanding figure of the ages. In all times since, he has been the point of support for aspiring natures, struggling souls, and stricken hearts, and also of every great moral endeavor of human society where his name was known. These things all men confess; but to his followers he has ever been the most complete and impressive revelation of the will of the invisible God to men. He and he alone makes rational, moral, and spiritual the universe in which we live. His death and resurrection bring the brightness of unclouded day into the unbroken darkness of human guilt, human sorrow, and certain death. This surely was worthy of the Son of God. On the other hand, the total impression that he makes is that he is very man. He seeks men, seeks to cleanse them, to enlarge their natures, to bring

them to a realization of the purpose of their being, and all this with a depth of tenderness and affection beyond what men feel for their dearest friends. When men compare their lives with his, it is the narrowness of intellect, the littleness and poverty of nature, the lack of depth and breadth, and never the reverse, which makes them cry out this life is impossible. Yet unnumbered thousands in every generation testify that this life, so wonderful, so supremely regnant, can reproduce itself in the human spirit, and that this transformation is the great experience of human life.

The doctrines of Jesus, which are unique with him, and which give his teaching the predominance among all the faiths of the world, on the lowest ground of the principle of the survival of the fittest,

The Doctrines. God. cluster around four great truths: 1. He revealed the one God to men; that is, the supremacy and continuity of being and law throughout the universe, and in all eternities past and to come, and that this God, supreme and regnant, is the Heavenly Father of the race. This teaching was most antagonistic to the universal polytheism and idolatry, the source of its bitterest opposition, and yet its most powerful solvent. By teaching God as our Father, as the Father of Jesus himself, he made the most universal and powerful of human relations interpret God to men.

Forgiveness. He revealed the Divine forgiveness. He taught that all men needed forgiveness; that men did not need to die to be lost, but were now lost in their sins, and were in danger of eternal sin; that men escaped from sin only by turning, re-

pening, and receiving the Divine forgiveness. The Divine forgiveness is a loosing from sin, a cleansing from sin, and the beginning of a new life in which men do not willfully depart from the Heavenly Father, but cleave to him in the endeavor to do his will with the whole heart. The purification of the heart and conscience from both sin and guilt is alone accomplished by the Divine forgiveness.

He revealed that love is the principle of moral and spiritual life in men, as in the nature of God. Christian love (*ἀγάπη*) was a new thing in human history. Jesus revealed it to men, and taught that it was the principle of the new life. It came to human hearts, and controlled them through the Holy Spirit. It is the law of the individual and social life of the Christians. The early ages of the Church were bright with its radiance; and in no other respect is its history more instructive to us.

He revealed immortality to men. All else led up to this. The great themes and facts of Christian preaching—Christ crucified, Jesus and the resurrection—were its guarantee. It did not seem strange to them that a love which had overcome the evil in human hearts and in social life, controlling the life by its law, and bringing into Divine communion, should prepare men, in likeness of their Lord, to put on immortality. The spiritual life, the enthroning of the Christian love, the indwelling Christ, are ever the clearest proofs of a life beyond this.

These four great truths—God, our relation to him; the Divine forgiveness; Christian love; and immortality—were the smooth stones out of the brook

through which was overthrown the colossal form of the pagan society and State.

The society Jesus formed was the sling which hurled these stones. The secret of the strength of this society was that its members were men and women convinced that in them lived, and through them wrought, the Spirit of Christ—the Holy Spirit of the living God. They brought forth the accordant fruits. This, in every age and land, is the most essential and truest characteristic of a Christian Church. The religion of Jesus Christ is eminently social. No one can receive his Spirit and not wish others to share

it. With the reception of the Divine forgiveness was received the Spirit of Christ, and by that fact the believer became related to the Christian Church. Through this entrance into the Christian brotherhood, its fellowship, and watch-care, the purity of the faith and of Christian life was maintained. In the midst of heathen society, from which they must in great part separate, there was formed another society, animated by a different spirit, inspired by other ideas, and with other aims. This society kept together Christian believers, organized them for service, ministered the means of grace, and led the attack upon heathenism. These few Christian believers—poor, despised, and friendless—were stronger than the mightiest empire and the greatest civil society in the world. They formed the true kingdom of God, and they waited in ardent expectation and devout hope for its perfect realization, when should come unto them their absent Lord. The influence of Jesus, the truths he taught, the Church he founded, are the great motor forces which acted upon and

moved men then, and which move men now; they transformed human society then, and they change it now. They all center in the person of Christ and the work he wrought. He was the founder and is the substance of Christianity. He is the author and finisher of the faith. The greatness of Paul and John but bring more prominently before us the source from which it was derived.

Pentecost was the birthday of the Christian Church. The Holy Ghost came in answer to the age-long prayer of humanity. He came the perpetual witness to the incarnation and resurrection of our Lord, and the consummation of his mission. That day the mingled tongues of Asia, Africa, and Europe heard in familiar accents the message of the divine salvation. The Holy Spirit gave a common experience to these widely-sundered hearts and lives. The grace of his transforming presence knew no barriers of nationality or speech. Then was begun the mission-work of the Christian Church. She received three thousand converts on the day of her birth. For the remainder of the century the work went on under the direction of the apostles and those converted under their ministry, and is the Apostolic Church. Christianity began to spread from Jerusalem as a center almost immediately, and that remained the mother Church until its overthrow in the destruction of the city by Titus.

The most remarkable of these apostolic missionaries is St. Paul. Added to great natural gifts and solid learning, God gave a marvelous conversion and call to the apostolate. Converted about 34 A. D., he,

**Birth and
Growth of
the Church.**

**The
Apostolic
Church.**

as a wise master-builder, in three missionary journeys (40-58) laid the foundations of the Church in Asia Minor and Greece. On his fifth visit to Jerusalem since his conversion, he was apprehended, and, to prevent his murder by the Jews, taken at once to Cæsarea (58). There he remained two years in prison; but, having appealed to Cæsar, made a winter voyage to Rome, where he arrived in the spring of 61. He remained in prison two years, in comparatively easy confinement; when on his trial, he, after having been five years a captive, was released. About a year of liberty was given him, in which he appears to have traveled to Asia Minor, and preached the gospel in Spain. A second time in prison, he was soon released

Paul.

by a martyr's death in June, 64. His letters give us a very complete picture of the man and of his work. His main thought was nothing less than winning the world for Christ. His two great achievements were: The loosing of the obligation of the Mosaic law from the converts from heathenism to Christianity, so making it a universal religion; and the teaching of a better righteousness than that of the law—the righteousness of faith. He has been called the first fundamental theologian of Christianity. The order of and dates of the New Testament writings, so far as we can determine them, are as follows:

Compare the date of Paul's writings with the Synoptic Gospels, 60-80.

1 Thessalonians, 53	St. Matthew, Soon after 70
2 Thessalonians, 53 or 54	St. Mark, 67
1 Corinthians, 58, spring	St. Luke, 80
2 Corinthians, 58, midsummer	St. John, 96
Galatians, 55 or 57	Acts, 80
Romans, 59, spring	James, 50

Ephesians,	62 or 60	1 Peter,	55
Colossians,	62 or 60	2 Peter,	67 or 130
Philemon,	62 or 60	1 John,	After 90
Philippians,	62	2 and 3 John,	Before 90
1 Timothy,	63	Jude,	60
Titus,	63	Revelation,	70 or 90-95
2 Timothy,	64		
Hebrews,	66		

No age shall ever come that shall not be quickened into enthusiasm by the recorded work and words of power of this most heroic soul, this most devoted and saintly follower of our Lord, this ablest and most winning Christian missionary of all the Christian ages. His influence to-day is not less potent than his work more than eighteen hundred years ago.

Of the life and works of most of the apostles, little has come down to us. With St. Paul wrought also the three teachers of the Apostolic Age. St. Peter was the preacher on the day of Pentecost; the spokesman of the Apostolic College; the head of the Church of the circumcision through all the nations where dwelt the dispersed remnants of the chosen people. He was at Antioch and Babylon. Tradition speaks of a ministry at Rome.* He perished in the Neronian persecutions, June, 64.

Peter.

St. James, the brother of our Lord, was to the Church at Jerusalem all that St. Peter was to the Jews of the Dispersion. He commanded the respect of the enemies of the Christian faith by his devout life; and yet his countrymen stoned him, as they had stoned Stephen, 66. He remains the ideal type of the converted Jew, and his epistle makes for righteousness to-day as did his example and character in the days of the expiring Jewish nation.

James.

* See Appendix, Note A.

To St. John was given a longer career and a grander mission. After the destruction of Jerusalem, and probably after the death of the mother of our Lord, St. John removed to Ephesus. There, entering upon the work of St. Paul in Asia Minor, he saw grow up around him the most prosperous and flourishing Churches of the first century. He lived to see

Christians of the second and third generation. He had length of days in which not only to declare the Lord's words, but in which to reflect upon and weigh their meaning. He saw their effect upon the world, society, and the Church. From the union of such susceptibility and intuition of the Divine with his most intimate fellowship with the Lord and the maturity of long experience, came the richest heritage of the Church—the Scriptures written by the beloved disciple.

These Scriptures have a larger unaccomplished mission before them in the Christian Church than any other writings of the Sacred Record.

The extension of the Church went on among the different races of the Roman Empire. After the overthrow of Jerusalem, Rome became the great center of the Christian world. At the end of the first century, the gospel had been fully preached in the chief cities of her provinces. Its message had been proclaimed beyond the Euphrates and on the western shore of India. Its truths found adherents south of the Roman dominion, in Arabia and in Africa.

From the first the Jewish converts in Judea must have been considerable in number. This appears from the fact of the necessity of conciliating their opposition to the work of Paul, as at the Council of Je-

rusalem, and the number of poor saints in this mother Church for whom he made collection. James, the brother of the Lord, was the head of this Church until his death. He was succeeded by Symeon, son of Cleopas—a relative, presumably cousin, of our Lord—who held the position for nearly forty years, being, it is said, more than one hundred years of age at his martyrdom by crucifixion, 106

The Jews.

or 107. After the end of the first century, the Jewish Christians divided into two sects—the Ebionites, who held that the law should be observed by all Christian converts, though sacrifices were done away; and the Nazarenes, who held, according to the Council of Jerusalem, that it was binding only on those who by birth were Jews. Ebionitic and Gnostic elements were combined in the Jewish Christian heretical sect of the Elkasites, who held Christianity to be a critically-revised Mosaism. They spread in Syria and Arabia. Mohammed became acquainted with them, and from them drew those ideas of Christianity which he taught in the Koran, and which have been ever since the orthodox view of Christianity and its teaching in all the Mohammedan world. May God open the way for a better knowledge than this heretical distortion! These sects have left a large body of apocryphal writings, like the Preaching of Peter, the Gospel of James, the Clementine Homilies, etc.

The Jews in the Greek and Roman cities were more liberal. When they became Christians they seem to have entered into the main body of the Christian societies, and not to have remained separate sects. From among these Paul found some of his earliest and best helpers. Such were Aquila and

Priscilla, Timothy and Lydia. These remain as types of the movement among the Israelites of the dispersion, until the destruction of Jerusalem and the suppression of the rebellion of Barcocheba turned the feeling of the Jew toward the Christian to intense hatred. A form for bitter cursing of Christians was adopted among the prayers of the synagogue, and was in use for ages after. The relations between Jews and Christians, religious, social, and political, since 135, would form a book whose tragic interest would surpass that of any romance, and be no unimportant contribution to the history of Christianity and civilization.

Through the believing Jews of the Dispersion, Christianity gained an entrance among the Gentiles, particularly the Greek population of the cities. Indeed, Greek was the language of the Church at Rome until after 150. It also spread among them by migration. Every Christian was a missionary. Within a year from the death of Christ there were probably Christians in Rome. The Greeks were the first great race to become pervaded with the Christian teaching. Their language became that of the Christian Scriptures and of the early Christian Church and its

The Greeks. writers—a use for which it was admirably adapted. Its philosophy has in every age led thoughtful, inquiring minds, like Justin Martyr and Neander, to accept Christ. It was the foundation of all education, and so the common possession of the educated classes. From it has come much of the fundamental framework of Christian theology. The most flourishing early Churches were in its domain; as Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Thessalonica,

and particularly the cities, and even country districts, of Asia Minor. If Christianity drew on the Greek population for form of thought and language, it repaid the debt in taking to itself and preserving the life of the people. The great Eastern or Greek Church has been the main sphere of its activity, thought, and influence for more than a thousand years. Through it, more than by any other means, it affects the world.

From Antioch, very early, the Christian missionaries preached the gospel in Syria in the native tongue. The center of Syrian Christianity was for many years at Edessa; and the seat of its theological school was there until after 400, and later at Nisibis. They produced devoted missionaries and able scholars. A large number of their writings and of translations of Greek Christian authors have come down to us. The New Testament was first translated into their tongue. They had a rich hymnology. Christianity spread eastwards. Before 250, there were not a few Christians in Persia. They sustained severe and bloody persecutions from 340 to 400. Out of enmity to the Roman Empire, the Nestorian and Monophysite sects were protected, and found a refuge and home in Persia. Armenia became Christian in the latter part of the third century (280-300), through the labors of Gregory the Illuminator. Nestorian missionaries carried on their labors and founded Churches in China. Syriac.

The Jewish and Greek converts early made known the glad tidings in the West. Paul's letter to the Romans proves that a flourishing Church was early established in the capital of the empire. Though the early Church at Rome was Greek, yet in the

time of St. Paul there were Christians in Cæsar's household; and at the close of the century, under Domitian, the emperor's cousin, the Consul Flavius Clemens was executed, and his wife, Domitilla, banished, probably on account of their adherence to the Christian faith. From Rome, Christian teaching came to Carthage and the cities of North Africa, where it rapidly spread, and where was made the sec-

In the ond translation of the New Testament
West. and the first in the Latin tongue. Christianity found its way into Spain from Rome, and first in the Apostolic Age; early also into the cities of Southern France, from Asia Minor, and to those of Germany and Britain. The first Christians in these cities were probably Oriental slaves, merchants, and artisans from Italy, Greece, and Syria. For the first two centuries the advance of Christianity was by the individual Christian winning the individual heathen. Christianity remained in the cities confined to the Roman population until after the fall of the Roman Empire. In the practical work of preaching Christ, these objections were met: Its Jewish, barbaric origin; it was a religion of yesterday; no pictures or images in its worship; the heathen called it atheism; its morality too strict; political dangers; the members from the poorer and lower classes; they were accused of fanaticism and creating a new mythology. They met these by preaching monotheism as an original revelation, claimed the Christian religion as reaching to the beginning of the world, the conception of the redemption, and, above all, Jesus Christ, who was the concrete ideal of a holy life. This preaching was enforced by their strict morality

and brotherly love, and by the heroism of their suffering even unto death. Loyalty to conviction to this extent was a novelty in the heathen world.

Of the progress of the faith during the second century, Tertullian, writing near its close, says (*Apolo-
gy* I, 45): "The outcry is that the State is filled with Christians. They are in the fields, in the citadels, in the islands. They make lamentations as for some calamity, that both sexes, every age and condition, even high rank, are passing over to the Christian faith; for now it is the immense number of the Christians which makes your enemies so few, almost all the inhabitants of your various cities being followers of Christ." Whatever allowance may be made for rhetorical exaggeration in this passage, that the Christians were rapidly increasing in the West was a fact too evident to be denied. Its progress was even greater in the East. The rapid rise and variety of the heretical sects shows how Christian ideas had taken possession of the thought of the time and of the most diverse sections of society.

CHAPTER III.

THE PERSECUTIONS.

THE preaching of Christianity and its progress did not pass unobserved by the Roman State and its rulers. Under Tiberius (14-37), Caligula (37-41), Claudius (41-54), the early years of Nero, the Christians were considered as a Jewish sect, and protected by the Roman law. The Jews succeeded in making the difference plain to the Government. Under Nero, in June, 64, broke out the first great persecution of the Christians. Savage and cruel beyond conception, the persecution showed what the Church had to expect for the next two hundred and fifty years. The gigantic conflict was begun. There was no day, from that time until 313, when a Christian who would not deny his faith had any protection from the law; nay, those bearing the name were outlaws, as much as robbers. Of this persecution, Tacitus tells us: "A vast multitude were convicted, not so much on the charge of making the conflagration or burning of Rome, as of hating the human race. And in their deaths they were made subjects of sport; for they were covered with the hides of wild beasts and worried to death by dogs, or nailed to crosses, or set fire to; and when day declined, they were burned, to serve for nocturnal lights. Nero had offered his own garden for this exhibition, and also exhibited a game of the circus, sometimes mingling with the crowd in the dress of a charioteer, and sometimes standing in his chariot."

This persecution showed the numbers and heroic constancy of the Christians at Rome. In this time of fierce testing of the faith of believers, Peter and Paul received the martyr's crown.

We shall get a better idea of the conflict if we consider the attitude of the State and the individual emperors toward the new religion. Though Vespasian and Titus (69-81) were well spoken of by the Christians, who regarded them as instruments of Divine justice in executing judgment upon the Jews, and only Domitian (81-96) was a bloody persecutor, yet, during all these years, the persecution was continued as a permanent police measure against them as a sect dangerous to the public safety. This principle was merely unwritten law. No edict was issued; but the governors, when any case came before them, judged it according to the precedent set them by the emperor. The followers of a sect whose tendency was to unsettle the foundations and principles of Roman society, were held as outlaws, and the very name treated as a crime. Nerva (96-98) called back those banished by Domitian. Trajan, who, as general and statesman, was called the second founder of the empire, ruled from 98 to 117. He wrote a rescript or letter to Pliny, governor of Bithynia, which remained the fundamental law of the empire until the reign of Decius, 250. Trajan directed those accused of Christianity, if they sacrificed to the heathen gods, should be set at liberty; if not, they are to be punished; that being a Christian is a crime which is exposed to capital punishment. But he added: "Christians are not to be sought out by the State, but apprehended only upon personal complaints by name.

Anonymous accusations are not to be considered. Such a thing does not fit my age." The Government did not wish to multiply cases. The Christians complained that they should either be called criminals and punished, or called innocent and left in peace. We can not be collectively criminals and individually innocent. It is against all law to say that, if we will only deny or sacrifice, we shall be free. If it is a crime to be a Christian, we should be punished; if not, we should be undisturbed. Under Trajan were martyred Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. Hadrian (117-138) was no old Roman, but a modern spirit, curious, religious, and skeptical. He maintained Trajan's policy, but cautioned against wholesale accusations. Antoninus Pius (138-161) wished a better religious condition through a restoration of the old worship. Christians were accused in his reign of causing the famine. Justin Martyr tells of cases of individual martyrdom. Polycarp suffered at Smyrna, 155. Marcus Aurelius (161-180)—a philosopher and a stoic—whose "Meditations" show him to be a rationalistic monotheist, upheld idolatry. He caused a more rigid execution of the law against the Christians. They were to be sought out. He thought the Christian fearlessness of death was obstinacy. There seems to be a wearisome repetition of these opinions of emperors and regulations of the State. There were life and movement enough then. All the imagination and skill of the artist can not make these scenes as vivid to us as they were to the poor Christians under Rome's ablest and wisest rulers. Take this scene, enacted under

Marcus Aurelius at Lyons, in Gaul, 177, and given to us by eye-witnesses :

“Present at the examination of these was Alexander, a native of Phrygia, and a physician. He lived for many years in Gaul, and had become well known to all for his love to God, and his boldness in proclaiming the truth. He stood near the judgment-seat, and urged by signs those who had denied, to confess. The mobs, enraged that those who had formerly denied should now confess, cried out against Alexander, as if he were the cause of this ^{Martyrs of Lyons, 177.} change. Then the governor summoned him before him, and inquired of him who he was; and when Alexander said he was a Christian, the governor burst into a passion, and condemned him to the wild beasts. On the next day he entered the amphitheater with Attalus, a man of mark in the city; for the governor, wishing to gratify the mob, again exposed Attalus to the wild beasts. These two, after being tortured in the amphitheater with all the instruments devised for that purpose, and having undergone a severe contest, at last were themselves sacrificed. Alexander uttered no groan or murmur of any kind, but conversed in his heart with God; but Attalus, when he was placed in the iron chair, and all the parts of his body were burning, and when the fumes of his body were borne aloft, said to the multitude in Latin: ‘Lo, this which ye do is eating men; but as for us, we neither eat men, nor practice any other wickedness.’ And being asked what name God has, he answered: ‘God has not a name as men have.’

“After all these, on the last day of the gladiatorial

Read

not accepting divorce

shows, Blandina was again brought in along with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years of age. These two had been taken daily to the amphitheater to see the tortures which the rest endured, and force was used to compel them to swear by the idols of the heathen; but on account of their remaining steadfast, and setting all their devices at naught, the multitudes were furious against them, so as neither to pity the tender years of the boy nor respect the sex of the woman. Accordingly, they exposed them to every terror and inflicted on them every torture, repeatedly trying to compel them to swear. But they failed in effecting this; for Ponticus, encouraged by his sister—so plainly, indeed, that even the heathen saw that it was she who encouraged and confirmed him—after enduring nobly every kind of torture, gave up the ghost. And the blessed Blandina,—after she had been scourged and exposed to the wild beasts, and roasted in the iron chair, she was at last inclosed in a net and cast before a bull; and after she had been well tossed by the bull, she also was sacrificed, the heathens themselves acknowledging that never among them did woman endure so many and such fearful tortures."

Commodus (180-192) relaxed the severe measures of his father, though there were martyrdoms in his reign. He was said to be influenced by his favorite concubine, Marcia, who favored the Christians. Pertinax, after a three months' reign, was succeeded by Septimus Severus (193-211). He personally inclined to the Persian worship of Mithra, or the sun. He was an able general and a great builder and founder of public monuments. In 197 he issued an edict pro-

hibiting every subject in the empire from embracing the Jewish or Christian faith. Upon this followed seven years of persecution in Palestine, Egypt, Africa, Italy, and Gaul. Leonidas, father of Origen, was martyred at Alexandria. In this reign, Tertullian wrote, when he could not mistake or exaggerate without injuring the cause for which he pleaded. **Tertullian's Witness.** He says (sec. 50): "You put Christians on crosses and stakes. You tear the Christians with your claws. We lay our heads upon the block; we are cast to the wild beasts; we are burned in the flames; we are condemned to the mines; we are banished to the islands. Nor does your cruelty, however exquisite, avail you; it is rather a temptation to us. The oftener we are mown down by you, the more in numbers do we grow; the blood of Christians is seed."

An instance of what Tertullian means we can see in an extract from the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, who suffered at Carthage, 202: "Perpetua is first led in. She was tossed, and fell on her loins; and when she saw her tunic, she drew it over her as a veil for her middle, rather mindful of her modesty than of her suffering. Then she was called for again, and bound up her disheveled hair; for it was not becoming for a martyr to suffer with disheveled hair, lest she should seem to be mourning in her glory. So she rose up; and when she saw Felicitas crushed, she approached and gave her hand, and lifted her up; and both of them stood together. And when the populace called for them into the midst, they rose up of their own accord, and transferred themselves whither the people wished;

**Martyrs at
Carthage,
202.**

but they first kissed one another, that they might consummate their martyrdom with the kiss of peace. The rest, indeed, immovable and in silence, received the sword thrust; but Perpetua, that she might taste some pain, being pierced between the ribs, cried out loudly, and she herself placed the wavering right hand of the youthful gladiator to her throat."

The house of Septimus Severus; his son, Caracalla (211-218); his cousins, Elagabalus (218-222), and Alexander Severus (222-235), were given to Syrian worship, particularly of the sun. Julia Mamaea, the mother of Alexander Severus, was a woman of extraordinary strength of character, and interested in philosophy and the Christian religion. She sent for Origen and Hippolytus in order to converse with them about their faith. Her son was an eclectic; he was interested in and admired Christianity. He believed in immortality, and inscribed the Golden Rule on the walls of his palace. He admired the spirit of the Christian society and the organization of the Church. He placed the statues of Apollonius Tyana, Abraham, and Jesus in his prayer-room. All these Septimian emperors favored Christianity, and the Churches had peace.

He was succeeded by Maximinus, the Thracian (235-238), a raw barbarian. He hated the Christians because they had been friends of Alexander Severus. He issued an edict that the bishops and chief clergy were to be put to death; but his reign was too short and he was too busy to do more than begin its execution.

The Churches were undisturbed during the reign of the three Gordians (238-244). Philip the Arabian

(244-249) believed in a religion lying behind all religions. He favored the Christians. His wife, Severa, corresponded with Origen.

The Christians did more than to preach the truths of Christianity and to follow their Lord to prison and to death; they defended the faith. No Christian can read those Apologies, which are never an excuse, but a defense, which is also an attack, without a higher courage and a warmer glow of Christian love. The apologists of the second century were Greek; they comprise such names as Quadratus and Aristides, Aristo and Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, Mileto and Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch and Clement of Alexandria. In the third century, Hippolytus and Origen also wrote in Greek. These apologists sought to justify the Christian faith, to reason, and to educate men. The Latin apologists, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Cyprian, wrote in the third century; Lactantius, at the close of the Diocletian persecution, in the fourth; and Augustine and Salvian, in the fifth centuries. The Latin apologists attacked directly the heathen religions. Their defense was an irresistible onset. Augustine's "City of God" and Salvian's "Divine Government" were written to justify the ways of God to a world dying in the agonies of the barbarian invasions. The object of the apologists was to reply at first directly to the emperor, then later to the educated classes, to the charges made against the Christians, to protest against persecutions, and to set forth the real teachings of the Christian religion. Their method was to criticise the heathen religions as fabulous and absurd and as immoral according to the tes-

The
Apologists.

timony of their own writers; to show that all peculiar Christian doctrines can be justified to the reason, and that Christianity was the primitive revelation. They all appealed to the power of the Christian life and the constancy of the Christians in martyrdom. The only literary attacks upon Christianity which have come down to us are those of Celsus, about 150, and of Porphyry, about one hundred years later. Origen, in his "*Contra Celsus*," preserves and refutes the attack. The work of Porphyry is much less important. The work of the apologists was thoroughly and triumphantly accomplished. No form of heathenism in any age can survive it, if the appeal is made to reason. There is no question on which side lies the weight of the argument. In spite of the wider knowledge and different lines of attack upon Christianity, and necessarily of defense, after fifteen hundred years there is a striking modernness in the thought of Origen's reply to Celsus. The four great apologies are by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, and Augustine. If but two can be read, read Justin and Tertullian. They bring back the life and dangers of the early Church.

With Decius (249-251) there is a change. Decius is an old Roman. He does not believe that Christianity and the empire can stand together. He means to destroy it from the face of the earth. The edict of 250 provided that "all men, with their wives and children, shall offer sacrifice; if not, be imprisoned, and be compelled with all power; if not, then let them be executed in the worst manner." The prefects, or governors, are threatened with severe penalties if they do not bring back the Christians to the

old religion. They are to be summoned at definite periods. This was a general persecution throughout the empire. Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, and Alexander of Jerusalem, were martyred. Origen was tortured at Tyre. Gallus (251-254) carried on the persecution. Valerian (254-260), by edict, prohibited all gatherings of Christians; all bishops and leaders were to be arrested and sent into exile. The clergy who were exiled were to have their goods confiscated, and, if they remained Christians, to be executed by the sword. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, was martyred 258; as were Sextus II, Bishop of Rome, and his deacon, Laurentius.

Gallienus (261-268) restored the legal position of the Christians to that of Trajan's time, gave them freedom of worship, and their cemeteries practical toleration. So it remained during the reigns of Claudius (268-270), Aurelian (270-275), Tacitus (275-276), Probus (276-282), Carus (282-283), and Diocletian (from 284 to 303); so that the Churches had forty years of peace, and greatly prospered.

Diocletian was an able ruler, and if he had not undertaken the persecution of the Christians, would have ranked as a great statesman. He gave the **Persecution of Diocletian.** Roman Empire the administrative form which it retained in the East until its overthrow in 1453. Incited by his co-regent Galerius, he began the cruelest of all the persecutions in 303. Four edicts followed each other in the course of the year. He decreed the destruction of the Christian churches, the burning of the Scriptures, the dismissal of all civil and military officials who are Christians, the withdrawal of all rights of citizenship, and the imprison-

ment of all the clergy. Torture was to be used upon those refusing, and every device to compel them to sacrifice; and finally death for all Christians. These were carried out with all the power of the State. "We read of twenty, fifty, and one hundred put to death in a single day; of a whole Church gathered together in Phrygia, and then burned, with the edifice in which they worshiped; that women and children were cut open alive in the palace of Galerius, in order to inspect their entrails."

No wonder that the historian Lecky sums up these sufferings so vividly, an unanswerable reply to the depreciation of Gibbon: "We read of

Summary.

Christians bound in chairs of red-hot iron, while the stench of their half-consumed bodies rose in a suffocating cloud to heaven; of others torn to the very bone by shells or hooks of iron; of holy virgins given over to the lusts of the gladiators or the mercies of the pander; of two hundred and twenty-seven converts sent on one occasion to the mines, each with the sinews of one leg severed by a red-hot iron, and with an eye scooped out from its socket; of fires so slow that the victims writhed for hours in their agony; of tortures prolonged and varied through entire days. . . . For the love of their Divine Master, for the cause which they believed to be true, men, and even weak girls, endured these things, when one word would have freed them from their sufferings."

These recitals of Christian sufferings make evident that the faith of the early Christians was a realization—(1) Of the value of the unseen; (2) The prevailing might of the Divine order; (3) The salvation of the risen Lord. None to whom the things of this

world were the chief end of life; none who believed that there was no Supreme Mind in the universe, or that he could not make his purpose known to men; none for whom Jesus was but a good man and a great ethical teacher, ever faced the lions in the arena or the tortures of the amphitheater. With these witnesses unto blood, there was no question of the Divine power over the material order and the realm of nature. Justin Martyr stands for them all. "Do you suppose," said the prefect Rusticus to him, "that you will ascend up to the heaven to receive some recompense there?" "I do not suppose," was the martyr's ready correction; "I know it." Spiritual realities were to them the great verities of human life.

Motives of
Christian
Martyrdom.

Other religions have had their martyrs; but after the enthusiasm of the first or second generation has passed away, these witnesses cease. If the victory does not quickly come, the cause is lost. Where is there a parallel to the two hundred and fifty years of outlawry and suffering from a power invincible for a thousand years, and which represented the civil and political order of the world, yet enduring the last persecution with a fortitude equal to that of the Apostolic Age?

Christian
and Other
Martyrs.

What was the effect of the persecutions? They consolidated, purified, and reanimated the Church. They showed conclusively that the heathen religions had lost all vitality, and with them was perishing heathen society; that Christianity was the one living, growing moral force and spiritual power in a dying world.

While, in the course of centuries, the love and

reverence for the martyrs of the Christian faith degenerated into a baneful worship of saints and a disgusting exhibition, reverence, and worship of spurious relics, yet the world's debt to them is not paid nor their service to humanity ended. The martyrs for civil liberty in modern times drew their inspiration from the Christian victims of the amphitheater and the Roman executioner. No greater service could be rendered to a materialistic civilization, a self-indulgent Christianity, an unbelieving generation, than its awakening to a stalwart faith in those spiritual and supreme realities for which the Christian martyrs died

Our Debt to the Martyrs The battle was to the death; but the Church did not die. The pagan empire did. Diocletian abdicated in defeat, 305. Constantine Chlorus did not persecute the Christians. His son, Constantine the Great, succeeded him in 306. He saw the sign which conquers, engraved it upon his banners, triumphed at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, and, as the first Christian emperor, entered Rome, October 28, 312. The edict of Milan, proclaiming toleration, dates from 313; in 323, Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire. At that time, in the western provinces of the Orient, the Christians formed one-fourth of the population; in some provinces of the empire, one-tenth; few less than that. Probably, out of a population of one hundred millions, ten millions were Christians. From 390-410, the heathen became a minority. By 550 the heathen worship and culture had vanished. It remained in existence in the country places in Italy in the sixth century; in the Peloponnesus in the eighth and ninth. It was

confined to the country, and hence called pagan. By 450, throughout the empire there was a common culture and worship of a Catholic Christian character.

If we consider the influence opposed to Christianity, and the material means at her disposal, this is the mightiest conquest ever made by a religious faith. Whatever of power, of philosophy, of intellectual culture, of wealth or social station was in the Roman world, was arrayed against the gospel of the crucified Nazarene. No bitterer enemies or persecutors were found than the Jews, from whose race he sprang, and to whose Scriptures he appealed. To the Roman pride of power and the stoic ideal of moral greatness the gospel of Jesus presented an exact antithesis. Humility and love took the place of pride and exalted self-respect. To the most unrestrained, splendid, and universal luxury, licentiousness, and vice, the apostles and their followers preached the cross, self-denial, and chastity, even in thought. This conflict was not merely one of taste, of sentiment, of ideals. It touched every relation and every hour of daily life. The opposition between this long-intrenched and close-clinging idolatry and the spiritual worship of the Christians was not only ever-present and unsleeping, it was active and aggressive. It had in command, and did not hesitate to use, the power of the mightiest and most universal empire of the world.

Magnitude
of the
Conquest.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE OF ROME.

THE Christian Empire of Rome began with Constantine, who, with all defects, was a great ruler, and compares favorably with the most eminent of his predecessors on the imperial throne. He removed the Government of the empire to the finest site ever occupied by a great capital, whether of commerce or of political dominion. Constantinople is the monument of his genius, as well as the bearer of his name. The City of the Sultans surpasses to-day, as it has done for fifteen hundred years, in wealth, importance, and population, the mistress of the victorious legions of Scipio and Cæsar, the capital of reunited Italy. The undivided empire of Constantine endured only to the death of Theodosius the Great, at the close of the century in which it had been founded. Domestic dissensions and imperial proscriptions destroyed the family of Constantine. Julian's apostasy and short-lived restoration of heathenism had no permanent influence. Valentinian and Theodosius were able generals and honest rulers. They stayed the tide of barbarian invasion until the next century. Theodosius divided the empire.

Alaric, king of the Visigoths, attacked the imperial city in the feeble reign of his son Honorius, and on August 24, 410, took and sacked Rome. The weakened monarchy, the attenuated shadow of the Empire of Rome, lingered on, encom-

West,
313-476.
East,
313-1453.

Effect of
Taxation.

passed and oppressed by the increasing waves of barbarian invasion, until it came to an end in 476. Thus fell, not the Roman Empire—that lived on in one form or another until 1806—but the Roman Empire of the West.

This rapid conquest was due, not simply to the valor of the barbarians, but to the vicious system of the Roman administration. It had been for two hundred years little more than a means for the collection of taxes from a diminishing population with decreasing wealth. The inhabitants were systematically disarmed. Those following any gainful vocation or possessing property must be followed in their calling by their children, who could not change their residence. The Decurionate having for generations been an instrument of fiscal oppression, from which even its members sought to escape, could appeal to no love of country, rally no defenders of the State, or command any public resources to resist invasion. The civil life of the cities being entirely dependent upon the capital, they could not once unite for common defense when all that men hold dear was at stake.

The Roman Empire in the West went down before the barbarians. The East was earlier attacked, but repulsed them. The local political organization independent of the imperial power afforded a means of resistance, greatly aided by the denser population, the greater number of walled towns, and the everywhere easy access to the sea. The imperial arms were superior in the open field; and the existence of these local authorities made impossible such complete subversion of the political order as in the West.

The Roman
Empire
in the East.

Yet in the East the havoc made by these invaders was terrible. Finlay (Vol. I, p. 186, History of Greece) says: "In many provinces the higher classes were completely exterminated. The loss of their slaves and serfs, who had been carried away by the invader, either reduced them to the condition of humble cultivators, or forced them to emigrate and to abandon their land, from which they were unable to obtain any revenue in the miserable state of cultivation to which the capture of their slaves, the destruction of the agricultural buildings, and the want of a market had reduced the country. In many of the towns the diminished population was reduced to misery by the ruin of the district. Houses remained unlet; the laborer and the artisan could alone find bread; the walls of cities were allowed to fall in ruins; the streets were neglected; many public buildings had become useless; aqueducts remained unrepaired; internal communications ceased."

Out of the overwhelming disaster and ruin of the Old World came forth the two political forces which were to dominate Europe for the next thousand years, and to affect Christendom until this day. The one, the Eastern Empire, a survival of the past, conserved the old civilization, and so adapted the despotism of imperial Rome to changing conditions as to secure its existence for a millennium; the other—the new birth for the new time—was that group of new nationalities and Governments, rising upon the overthrown foundations of the Roman Empire in the West, which were to develop into the Christendom of the Middle Ages and the States of modern Europe. The per-

Two Controlling Powers Surviving the Downfall of Rome.

petuity and importance of both the Eastern Empire and the new nations and their influence depended upon their acceptance of the Christian faith and the work of the Christian Church.

Thus, out of this flood of invasion, defeat, and distress arose the Empire of the East, to be the bulwark of Europe, not only against the savage tribes of the North, but for eight hundred The Empire. years against the conquests, first of the Saracen, then of the Turk; against the Mohammedan religion and dominion. When centuries of struggle, of warring civilizations and religions ceased, the Western nations had come to consciousness of their coherent national existence and power. When Constantinople at last fell, England was, under Henry VI, in the midst of the wars of the Roses, and the way prepared for the reign of the house of Tudor; there had been four hundred years of national life since the Norman conquest; two centuries had elapsed since Magna Charta, and one since the founding of the House of Commons; France was making way for Louis XI, and Spain for Ferdinand and Isabella. The banded forces of Christendom by this time far outweighed those of the Moslem dominion; yet then the fall of Constantinople brought Turkish armies into Hungary and Germany for two hundred years. The Eastern Empire preserved for Europe the treasures of the Greek literature and arts, and the knowledge and authority of Roman law. She gave us the founders of the art of modern painting and the Byzantine style of architecture, more widely spread than any other, extending from Moscow to Spain, and from St. Mark's at Venice to India. Order, law, and a public administration,

where they governed, had their lesson for the world, which knew so little of them.

The Greek Church gave the people the Scriptures in their own tongue; hence there was a connection between the people and the clergy which did not exist in the West. The clergy in the East were more popular and more learned, and the laity less ignorant and of more political importance. The Greek Church was the informing spirit of the empire, its support in peril, and the cause of its prolonged existence. She performs the like office to-day in Russia, the modern representative and heir of the traditions of the Byzantine monarchy.

From the death of Theodosius (395) to the assassination of Maurice (602), eleven emperors reigned;

**Eastern
Emperors,
395-527.** and yet the throne descended from father to son but twice in two hundred years.

The exceptions were Arcadius (395-408), the son, and Theodosius (408-450), the grandson, of the last ruler of the undivided Empire of Rome. The former was ruled by his wife Eudoxia, and the latter, during his entire reign of thirty-two years, by his sister Pulcheria, who alone of the family inherited the ability and character of her grandfather, the great Theodosius. She crowned her labors by marrying the Senator Marcian (450-457), to take the throne on her brother's decease. The five emperors who succeeded the second Theodosius were all born in the lower or middle ranks of life, and when past middle age came to the throne. Three of them—Marcian, Zeno (474-491), and Anastasius (491-518)—succeeded to the empire through the choice of the daughters of the emperors; two of them—Leo I (457-474), and Justin I

(518-527), by the choice of the imperial guard. They formed a series of prudent, economical, and reforming emperors, whose providence laid the foundation for the successes of the reign of Justinian.

Justinian came to the throne in 527, and reigned for thirty-eight years. He was a diligent administrator. His reign was renowned for the successes of his generals, Belisarius and Narses, who reconquered North Africa, Italy, and Eastern Spain from the Vandals and the Goths. He caused the codification of the Roman law, and lavished the wealth of the empire in costly public buildings, as well as foreign wars. His prodigality laid the foundation for the misfortunes of his successors. St. Sophia, in Constantinople, though now a mosque, is a monument of his brilliant reign.

The successors of Justinian were, like his predecessors, men in mature life. Justin II (565-578) was his nephew. His successor and son-in-law, Tiberius (578-582), whose reign was cut short by an untimely death, was the best emperor who ruled from Constantinople. His son-in-law and successor, the upright but unfortunate Maurice (582-602), a man of tried capacity in civil administration, but lacking sagacity and unsuccessful in war, inheriting the results of Justinian's reign of glory, as Louis XVI of France did those of the Grand Monarch, after a reign of twenty years, saw his children slain before his eyes, and was then put to death by the cruel usurper Phocas, in 602.

Eastern
Emperors,
527-565.
565-602.

To trace the rise and fall of nations is one thing; to feel the throes of a dying world is quite another. It is difficult to realize the amount of human suffer-

ing caused by this displacement of populations, the overturning of an established social order, and the settlement of vast hordes of barbarians amid the wealth and refinement of the highest civilization of the ancient world. Taking from the citizens the bulk of their personal property, and from one to two-thirds of their real estate, and sinking of the smaller proprietors into serfdom were the least of the evils of the barbarian invasions. Some estimate of the ruin wrought may be made from the fate of the provinces of North Africa. In the later years of Rome's dominion, they were exceedingly prosperous and fruitful, supplying the grain for the imperial capital, and filled with flourishing cities. They never recovered from the Vandal invasions and rule; suffered new losses upon the reconquest of Belisarius, and had no power to resist the onset of the Saracen conquest.

The case of those who suffered from the inroads of the heathen barbarians, like the Huns under Attila, was much worse.

Of even our Saxon heathen ancestors, a contemporary—Apollinaris Sidonius—writing about the time of the first invasion of Britain, says: “**Saxon Invaders.** before they raise the deep-biting anchor from the hostile soil, and set sail from the continent for their own country, their custom is to collect the crowd of their prisoners together, by a mockery of equality, to make them cast lots which of them shall undergo the iniquitous sentence of death; and then, at the moment of departure, to slay every tenth man so selected by crucifixion, a practice which is the more lamentable because it arises from a superstitious no-

tion that it will insure them a safe return. They think the foul murders which they thus commit are acts of worship to their gods, and they glory in extorting cries of agony instead of ransoms from their victims."

So the fertile lands of Thrace and Macedonia—modern Bulgaria—although in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople, were ravaged more than once each generation after 378. The barbarian leaders withdrew their hosts, leaving behind them smoking ruins and piles of dead bodies, inviting pestilence.

If this was so in the provinces, how fared it with imperial Italy herself? Italy, whose brave sons had made the rule of Rome commensurate with the civilized world, felt now the weight of **Fate of Italy.** oppression meted out to others for seven hundred years. First, Alaric, with his Visigoths, marched the whole length of the peninsula. His hosts were followed by those of Odoacer, Theodoric, Vitiges, and Totila, while the ruder Lombards crowded in and took permanent possession of the land. Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narses, warred in the heart of Italy for twenty years, and inflicted more misery than all the barbarians, and secured for the Eastern emperors for two centuries the Exarchate of Ravenna.

Following Procopius, an English historian gives a vivid picture of the horrors of that time in Central Italy—scenes not without parallel in those days of doom of a dying people.

"The war had now lasted four years, and it was over a ruined and wasted Italy that the wolves of war were growling. The summer of 538 was long remembered as the time when Famine and her child

Disease, in their full horror, first fell upon Tuscany, Liguria, and Æmilia. The fields had now been left two years uncultivated. A self-sown crop—poor, but still a crop—sprang up in the summer of 537. Unreaped by the hand of man, it lay rotting on the ground; no plow stirred the furrows, no hand scattered fresh seed upon the earth; and in the following summer there was, of course, mere desolation. The inhabitants of Tuscany betook them to the mountains, and fed upon the acorns which they gathered in the oak-forests that cling around the shoulders of the Apennines. The dwellers in Æmilia flocked into Picenum. It was computed that not less than fifty thousand peasants perished with famine. Procopius marked the stages of decline in this hunger-smitten people, and describes it: First, the pinched face and yellow complexion, surcharged with bile; then the natural moisture dried up, and the skin, looking like tanned leather, adhering to the bones; the yellow color turning to a livid purple, and the purple to black, which made the poor, famine-stricken countryman look like a burned-out torch; the expression of dazed wonder in the face sometimes clinging to the wild eyes of the maniac—he saw and noted it all. As is always the case after long endurance of hunger, some men, when provisions were brought into the country, could not profit by them. However carefully the nourishment was doled out to them in small quantities at a time, as one feeds a little child, still, in many cases, their digestion could not bear it, and those who had survived the famine died of food. Elsewhere, the famine-wasted inhabitants might be seen streaming forth into the fields to pluck any

green herb that could be made available for food. Often, when they had knelt down for this purpose, their strength would not serve them to pull it out of the ground. And so it came to pass that they lay down and died upon the ungathered herbage, unburied—for there were none to bury them—but undesecrated; for even the birds of carrion found nothing to attract them in these fleshless corpses.”

But to Rome, the Eternal City, the proud empress of the world, the haughty mistress of legions used to eight hundred years of victory, came the direst retribution. She who had conquered the world was conquered, sacked, and pillaged, time after time, by Alaric (410), Genseric (455), Greeks under Belisarius, and Goths under Totila—five times before 552. She who had plundered the wealth of every ancient civilization was successively pillaged as no other city had been. She who had been exempt from taxes for over five hundred years, while absorbing the wealth of nations through her rapacious publicani, fell into the clutches of the imperial logothetes till her poverty was too evident to be denied. She whose forum had been crowded with hostages saw three hundred children of her nobles, who were held in custody, fall in one day before the maddened Goth. Vitiges, in 537, broke down her aqueducts, thus destroying the most lavish water-supply that any city ever possessed. Totila, in 546, broke down two-thirds of her walls, carried off the gates, and left Rome, for a brief time, without an inhabitant. At the end of our period, she was at the lowest point of her humiliation. Gregory the Great says: “What more can befall us in this world? We see nothing but sorrows;

Downfall
of Rome.

we hear nothing but complaints. Ah, Rome! formerly mistress of the world, what has happened to thee? Where is the Senate? Where are the people? The buildings are in ruins, and the walls are falling. . . . You all know how our troubles are increasing. Everywhere the sword! Everywhere death! I am weary of life." In the famine of her siege, food had brought more than its weight in gold. Later the garrison had raised grain for sustenance on the site of Nero's Golden House and the palaces and gardens of the aristocracy. Corinth, Jerusalem, and even Carthage, might deem themselves avenged. Though more than two centuries had passed since the empire became Christian, the old religion prevailed among the aristocracy and ruling class at Rome. The heathen spirit may be seen in the giving of gladiatorial games by Honorius one hundred years after Constantine. Only the conquest and destruction of Alaric and Genseric, and the disasters of the sixth century, destroyed the heathenism of the patrician homes and made the new Rome a Christian city. Upon the old Rome—the Rome thirsting for the blood of saints, and delighting in the cruel games and tortures of the amphitheater—came the fulfillment of the prophecy of the revelator:

"Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be burned with fire; for strong is the Lord God which judgeth her. . . . And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more, the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine

wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and of iron, and marble and cinnamon, and odors and ointments, and frankincense and wine, and oil and fine flour, and wheat and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all. The merchants of these things which were made rich by her shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas! Alas! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! For in one hour so great riches is come to naught. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by the sea, stood afar off, and cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city? And they cast dust on their heads and cried, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas! Alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour she is made desolate. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her." (Rev. xviii, 8-20.)

CHAPTER V.

THE BARBARIANS.

THERE have passed before us the Roman Empire, in the height of its power and its decline; the Christian Church, growing from an unknown Jewish sect until it became stronger than any political power in the world. We have seen the ages of conflict between these two contending forces, and have felt horror and compassion alternate amid scenes of Christian persecution and the anguish of a dying world. We have seen the rule of Rome pass from pagan to Christian emperors, and undergo a renewal which should prolong its career another millennium.

We now turn our faces from the past to the future. We look upon a brighter scene as we mark the progress of a new force in the world and in civilization. If the old world and its culture died, it was to make way for a better one. The Teutonic peoples were without letters and without arts; yet to them were to pass the rule and the home of the proudest and mightiest conquerors known in human history. Brave, pure in domestic life, truthful and loyal, rude and savage, but not cruel, they brought the vigor of a new race, and nature unspoiled, if untrained. The control of future ages and the civilization of the race lay not with the empire whose capital was on the Bosphorus, but with those tribes of the German forests who, through the influence of Christianity, became nations, and have come to the dominion of the

world. The society whose beginnings we now trace fills and dominates Christendom until this day. We now enter upon a new world.

The barbarians first threatened the existence, and then the borders of Rome, from the days of Brennus to those of Marcus Aurelius, or for more than five hundred years. Taught by the conquests of Cæsar and the successes of the earlier emperors, they were restrained until the Franks made a permanent breach in the frontiers, A. D. 250. In seven years (168-175) under Marcus Aurelius, more than one hundred thousand Roman soldiers were taken prisoners by the barbarians, and the resources of the empire were taxed to the utmost. About a century later, Decius fell in battle against them, 254. A little over a hundred years later, Valens perished at Adrianople. The persistent approaches of the Teutonic invaders were not checked by abandoning to them the province of Dacia, beyond the Danube, or the transfer of power from the Tiber to the Bosphorus. In 378 Valens, the Eastern emperor, was defeated and slain at the battle of Adrianople; and from that time the recurring waves of barbarian invasion were never checked. The Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, the Heruli, and the Lombards were all of Teutonic blood and training, with kindred speech and institutions, and common vigor of race and martial valor.

The Goths overran Italy. Under Alaric, after three sieges, they took Rome in 410. They joined in repelling the Huns under Attila in 451. The Goths.
Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths—greatest of the Gothic rulers—defeated the Heruli and killed their ruler, Odoacer, the first king of Italy, and

reigned in his stead at Ravenna, from 489-526. The Goths invaded Spain in 415, and founded a kingdom, which they extended and consolidated, and which endured until the Mohammedan conquest in 711, and has colored all the after-history of the Spanish race.

The Vandals began their westward march in 406. They overran Northern Africa in 429; took Carthage in 439; and under their great but ruthless

The Vandals.

captain, Genseric, sacked Rome in 455. The armies of the Emperor Justinian, under Belisarius and Narses, broke the power of the Vandals in Africa, and overthrew the Goths in Italy. Rome was besieged and taken five times in sixteen years before 552. After this date, with the exception of the Gothic dominion in Spain, neither Goths nor Vandals appear in history.

The Lombards. The Lombards descended into Italy under Alboin in 568, and after reigning for two hundred years, remained the permanent controlling race-force in Northern Italy.

The Franks, following other Germanic invaders of Gaul, particularly the Goths and Burgundians, who had defeated Attila at Chalons in 451, came into possession of the land, and giving it their name, called it France. Before 500, under their able and victorious leader, Clovis—the first king of the Franks in France—they founded the first of modern Christian nations. At the close of this period (600), the Roman race had perished in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Northern Africa, in Germany, and in Switzerland, and in the northern and western half of what is now Turkey in Europe. So England had been overrun and taken possession of

by the Saxons, and was yet to be conquered both by the Danes and the Normans.

The heathenism of civilization had been overcome, so that its power passed into Christian hands. The heathenism of barbarism remained. The barbaric world was the greater conquest, viewed with respect to the extent of its sway or the results of its conversion. The Goths were a great Teutonic people, dwelling between the Baltic and the Black Seas. Christian captives, brought among them from their raids, first made known to them the new religion. Ulfilas, of their blood, became the first apostle of their nation. He settled with a portion of the tribes on the lands south of the Danube, where he served as a bishop for forty years. He translated the Scriptures into their tongue—the first accents of Teutonic speech to re-echo the Gospel story. Ulfilas was an Arian. The Arians believed that Christ was of a different substance from the Father, and therefore of inferior divinity. Through Ulfilas and his followers, the Goths East and West, the Vandals, the Suevi, the Burgundians, and the Lombards, became Arian Christians—a fact of most momentous significance in the history of barbarian conquests. Arianism seemed to interfere less with the desires of savage warriors, and having a looser organization, to impose less discipline and restraint than the orthodox faith. Through evil and good report the tribes remained for two hundred years faithful to the teachings of the Arian creed. Hence Alaric, Theodoric, Genseric, and Totila were all heretics in the eyes of their orthodox or Catholic Christian subjects, and could hardly found a stable dominion.

Conversion
of the
Barbarians.

They revered the orthodox bishops and priests, and, except the Vandals in Africa, did not persecute the laity; but their Christianity was always that of the tribe, never that of the nation.

It was, therefore, of vast importance when Clovis, the king of the Franks, adopted the faith of his Catholic wife, Clotilda. From that time the power of the Franks increased, until they formed the first of Christian nations of barbarian descent. The Arian power was overthrown in Africa and Italy; the Gothic Recared of Spain became Catholic in 589, and king of the Lombards at the close of the century. Over the barbarian hosts conquering France, Italy, Spain, and Africa, had passed the two forms of Christian faith. Heathenism in worship had disappeared, but heathenism in life remained; and, alas, how much of it had found entrance into the Church itself! At the end of the period, Christianity had conquered the Empire of the East, and thrice the greater portion of the Empire of the West; once the civilized Roman world, twice in Arian and Catholic forms the barbarians, who were to be the enduring foundations of the modern world.

The barbarian conquests produced no line of great men. Theodoric, founder of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy, left no successors, and his kingdom was wrested from his race in the next generation; while the successors of Clovis, the ill-fated Merovingians, raised up no ruler to be remembered. Yet upon those new foundations of race, language, institutions, customs, sentiments, and ideals the Christian religion built up the fabric of modern civilization. She preserved what

**Influence of
the Church
on the
Barbarians**

was most precious and enduring in the old civilization, refined the splendid vigor and courage of the new races, and informed them with a spirit as alien to their wild marauding valor as to the haughty pride of the imperial legions. To the strength, freedom, reverence, and chastity of the Teutonic invaders the Church brought the best treasures of the old culture; she restrained their passions; tamed their fierceness; brought them under rule and law; but, most of all, gave that direction and impetus to their religious nature which resulted in the Germanic form of the mediæval Church, its fittest material symbol being the consummate flower of the art of the architect—the Gothic cathedral.

Hence the men to be recalled as the founders of these nations are the Christian missionaries. They laid the foundation of stable government and civilization, as well as led the people to take the first and greatest step in national life—the conversion from idolatrous heathenism to Christianity. For what they did, and for the influence of their work on all ages since, their names should be held in everlasting remembrance.

**Work of
Christian
Missions
among the
Barbarians**

There are only a few glimpses of the work which went on for three hundred years among these savage invaders. That it was done, and remained done, is the great fact in Christian history. It could not have caused the same results if the conversion of the empire had not preceded; but it will prevail mightily on the earth after the power of Rome has waned. Not a few lessons for the conduct of modern missions can be drawn from the record of these saintly and successful followers of our Lord.

Some of the missionaries were captives, as was Succath, or St. Patrick; some were hostages, as was **Work** Ulfilas. The one in the hardships of a **III Captives.** rous bondage among the heathen, the other in the splendid surroundings of the imperial court, proved the value of the religion of Jesus Christ, and felt called to evangelize the heathen. Ulfilas for forty years was a most successful missionary. Had his faith been orthodox instead of Arian, his converts might have been the founders of a nationality as enduring as that of the Franks or Saxons.

St. Patrick was born near Glasgow, Scotland, in 387. At the age of sixteen he was taken captive by **St. Patrick,** the Irish. After about seven years of slav- **387-465.** ery, he escaped, but was held in thrall by his strong desire to win the Irish to the religion of Christ. For eleven years he translated and studied in the monasteries of Southern Gaul. He began his mission-work in Ireland in 432, and for more than thirty years made missionary tours through the island, preaching to the chiefs and converting the clans. His knowledge of the language, and raising up of a clergy who could teach in the native tongue, were large elements of success in his work. "He and his associates had made for themselves, by the labor of their own hands, civilized dwellings amid the tangled forests and the dreary morass. At a time when clan-feuds and bloodshed were rife, kings rose and fell suddenly from their thrones, and all else was stormy and changeful, they had covered the island with monasteries, where very soon the Scripture began to be studied, ancient books collected and read, and missionaries trained for their own country and for the

rest of Europe. Every monastic establishment was an outpost of civilization amidst the surrounding heathenism; to reclaim the tribes from their superstitions, to revise their old laws and usages, was the one object of their lives."

There were hermits like St. Severinus, who was, apparently, a native of the East, and of noble origin. He spoke Latin as his native tongue, and was a presbyter, trained in the monastic life in the deserts of Thebaid. He never spoke of his origin, and none knew of his past life. He came to the Roman province of Noricum, the lands of the Danube between Passau and Vienna, about 455. It was a scene of horror and desolation amid Attila's warring sons and the invading Teutonic tribes. Amidst the dissolution of all political and social order, and the constant rapine and plunder of the barbarians, Severinus taught and ministered for thirty years, dying at Vienna, 482. He taught by his own example how to endure suffering, and yet to trust and hope in God; while he himself was the source and stay of such moral order as remained. He lived a strict ascetic life, going barefooted in winter as well as in summer, and even over the frozen Danube. He slept on hair-cloth at night, and wore it in the daytime. Until sunset he fasted, unless on a day of festivity. In his humility, he would allow no credit to be given him for his endurance, but said that God made him an example to others to warn and to encourage them. All gifts were refused, and he declined the episcopate. He lived in a little cell or hut, around which were grouped others in which dwelt those who chose to live with him a monastic

The Work of
Hermits—St.
Severinus,
452-482.

life. His disinterestedness, his ceaseless charity, and knowledge of human nature gave him the reverence and respect, not only of the people with whom he lived, but of their savage neighbors. They regarded him with awe for his prophetic power. Though taking nothing for himself, he collected tithes for the redemption of captives and the relief of the poor. He devoted himself especially to the release of the captives taken by the marauding bands who overran the province. The king of the Alemanni promised to free his prisoners and withdraw from Roman territory. When he did not keep his word, Severinus appeared in his presence, and so awed him that he at once sent back seventy captives. The soldiers being unpaid, began to dissolve and to plunder for themselves. One cohort remained faithful; but they sent a messenger to Italy for their wages, but he was intercepted and killed. In the midst of these scenes of misery, Severinus encouraged the resistance and promised victory to those soldiers who remained, and which they gained; or he warned the inhabitants of the towns of the approaching invasion, so that they might remove to a place of safety. Those who did not heed were killed or taken away captive. To the sick and the poor he ministered, and sought to tame the pride and violence of the barbarian kings. The future greatness of Odoacer he predicted when he was but a common soldier; and he foretold the accession of Paulinus to the episcopate of the capital of Noricum. When about to die, he called to him the king of the Rugi, and exhorted his hard-hearted wife, Giso, to a better life, at the same time warning them of approaching disasters. He urged the people to

withdraw from the land and seek homes in Italy. Then he called around him his fellow-monks, and gave them his dying charge, which few can read, after fourteen centuries, without emotion. He called them to his side, kissed them, and received the holy communion. Stretching himself in the form of the cross, he commanded them to sing the Psalm, "Praise ye the Lord, all ye his saints," and slept in the Lord. Such high-hearted courage, unselfishness, and boundless charity laid the foundations of the new world.

Many more of these missionaries were monks at the head of a band of Christian brethren. They crossed the seas, or plunged into the pathless forests, or erected schools for the training of the people or of missionaries to other tribes. Such were St. Martin of Tours, and St. Columba, the founder of Iona.

**The Work
of Monks.**

St. Martin was born of heathen parents, in Pannonia, in 316. He was a soldier by profession, and had served in more than one war. He was converted and went back to his native country, sought his mother, and won her to Christ. For some time he lived the life of a hermit on an island near Genoa. In 360 he began his first monastery. In 371 he was consecrated Bishop of Tours. His fame centers in his monastery at that city. He used all his influence to save the lives of the Priscillian heretics in 388. He died in 400. He owes his renown largely to his friend Sulpicius Severus, who wrote his life. He is the earliest patron-saint of France.

**St. Martin
of Tours,
316-400.**

St. Columba, the founder of the celebrated monastic settlement at Iona, was born at Garten, in

Donegal, Ireland, in 521. After having been involved in the tribal wars of Ireland, he became a **St. Columba**, monk, and founded two monasteries in Ireland. In 521-597. land. In 563 he went to Scotland. He founded the mother monastery on the island of Iona. He preached to and converted the Picts of Northern Scotland; and his disciples, the islands north and west of the mainland. He and his followers thoroughly evangelized these lands. He died in 597. Of his character, a contemporary says: "In every work of mercy, he was most ready with his assistance, and healed with mildness the mental and bodily ills of all who came to him. He exercised toward himself the strictest discipline to leave others a good example, and he abhorred all carnal and mental vices. His ordinary food was bread and herbs, his drink water; but on festivals of the Church, he ate bread made of corn, and drank a cup of ale or whey. His bed was not a soft and easy couch, but the bare ground, with a stone for his pillow."

Another biographer tells us of the monastery at Iona: "It was of the simplest character, consisting of **Monastery at Iona.** a number of small wattle-built huts, surrounding a green court. It included a chapel; a dwelling-house for the abbot and his monks; another for the entertainment of strangers; a refectory and kitchen; and outside the trench a rampart, a byre for the cows, a barn and a storehouse for the grain, and other outbuildings. All these were constructed of timber or wattles."

Of their life it is recorded: "Their rule required of them that, morning and evening, they should repair to the oratory and join in the sacred services

Every Wednesday and Friday, except in the interval between Easter and Whitsunday, was a fast day, and no food was taken until three o'clock in the afternoon, except on the occasion of Life at Iona. the arrival of a stranger, when the rule was relaxed, that they might indulge their national hospitality. The intervals of devotion were employed in reading, writing, and labor. Diligence was inculcated by the exhortations and life of the founder, who allowed no hour to pass in which he was not engaged in prayer, or reading or writing, or some other employment. 'Reading' included chiefly the study of the Holy Scripture, especially the Psalter, which was diligently committed to memory; and besides this, that of books in the Greek and Latin languages, and the lives of some of the saints. St. Columba was distinguished for his devotion to this occupation, and the books of Kells and Durrow are wonderful specimens of the perfection which his followers acquired in the arts of transcribing and illuminating service-books and manuscripts. Active labor was also required of every member of the little community. He learned to till the ground, to sow the corn, to store the grain, to milk the cows, to guide the skiff or coracle on the stormy sea."

Some, not a few, missionaries were ambassadors of Christ in the courts of petty chiefs or great kings of those days. Such was Remigius, Bishop Work of
Bishop
Remigius,
and Clovis. of Rheims, when, in answer to the request of Clotilda, the wife of Clovis, he came to instruct and prepare for baptism the king of the Franks. "The sacrament was administered on Christmas-day. The church was hung with embroidered

tapestry and white curtains, and blazed with a thousand lights, while odors of incense filled the place. The king was struck with awe. "Is this heaven thou didst promise me?" said he to the bishop. "Not heaven itself, but the way thither," replied the bishop. The service proceeded. As he knelt before the font to wash away the leprosy of his heathenism, "Sicambrian," said Remigius, "gently bow thy neck; burn that thou didst adore, and adore that thou didst burn."

Such was Augustine of Canterbury, a monk of St. Andrew, at Rome, the monastery of Gregory the Great. At the command of that great **Augustine of Canterbury.** Pope, he set out across France; but, discouraged by what he heard of the heathen Saxons, turned back. Under the renewed command of Gregory, he, in company with forty monks, again undertook and successfully prosecuted his journey, arriving in England in 596. At their head he marched in solemn procession, to hold audience with Ethelbert, king of Kent. He preached Christ to him, and won the king to the Christian faith. On June 2, 597, Augustine baptized him, to the great joy of his Christian wife Bertha—the first Saxon king in England to accept the Gospels and the Church which were henceforth to rule the Northern nations, as well as the land of Rome. Eight years later, the work of the missionary was done, and he was buried in the yet unfinished Abbey of Canterbury.

Thus these captives, hermits, monks, and bishops, who appear at the courts of the kings, won a mightier conquest than Cæsar's legions, and founded a dominion more enduring than that of his successors.

It seemed in these centuries as if, with the barbarians, the forests had crossed the Rhine and the Alps, and spread over the once fertile fields of France and Italy. Where had flourished towns in the midst of a cultivated district, the place deserted by man was taken possession of by nature, and the forests concealed the buildings and walls. History recalls no parallel of this revolution. The subdual of the forests and plains of North America for settlement, in this century, equals it in magnitude; but in the one, civilization replaced savagery; in the other, barbarism destroyed a proud and ancient civilization; and suffering, misery, and ruin filled North Africa and all Europe, except a part of the Balkan peninsula.

The temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, which had witnessed so many barbarian chiefs bound and following the car of their conqueror up the Via Sacra, who, after gracing his triumph, suffered death at his hands, saw the successors of those chiefs, at the head of barbarian hosts, ascend the same way to pillage for weeks the palaces, and decimate the descendants of the commanders of victorious legions—the aristocracy of Rome. It had seen the spoils of the treasuries of the world pass before its portals. It saw its gates of gold carried off by one barbarian general, while another took away half of the gilded tiles of the roof.

The Coliseum, the monument of the magnificence of Vespasian, built by the toil of Jewish captives, where the death-agonies of the martyrs of the Christian faith delighted the populace and rulers of Rome, saw the remnants of that population fed and kept alive by the charity of a Christian bishop, who filled

the place once occupied by the emperor and the Senate.

In the midst of this mightiest and most protracted of revolutions, one stable element alone remained.

The Element of Continuity.

The old order had become Christian in name. In name the barbarians became Christians also. Though only in name, it gave opportunity for the worship, the institutions, the truths, and spirit of the Christian religion, not only to minister to the miseries of a dying world, but to nourish and mold the nascent civilization of modern times. At the foundation of all our political order and complex civilization is Christianity.

In no historic period have been taught more impressive lessons in the divine education of the race than in the early Christian centuries.

The fall of pagan Rome teaches the necessary failure of materialistic civilization. The experiment can never be tried on a wider scale, or in more favorable circumstances. No ruin could be more complete. No historian fails to read and record its lesson. The follies of the first French Revolution confirm its teaching. It would seem as if the atheistic statesmen of Italy, the Social Democrats of Germany, and the Church of the Indifferent in England and America, might lay it to heart.

Failure of Materialistic Civilization. The persecutions and triumph of Christianity set in vivid light the fact that they make no mistake who side with God. The scaffold or the stake on the side of God and truth is more to be desired than thrones among their adversaries. **Divine Order Evident** The spiritual kingdom and civilization does not fade

or die. It alone prevails. There is a Divine order in human affairs.

The triumph and world-wide reign of the religion of Christ is sure. It presents the noblest ideal, the sublimest truth, the best message that the religious nature of mankind can receive. It subdues and remedies human sin. It was given for the redemption of mankind. Those doubt its prevalence who doubt the possibility of such redemption—that any power can overcome the evil in human nature and in human life. The future welfare and progress of the race is bound up in the development and power of the Christian faith.

Lessons of
the
Conquest.

Nor do its victories pale. There are witnesses as ready to go to prison and to death for the name of Christ in all Christian lands this day as in the days of Christian martyrdom. There are as illustrious and devoted missionaries as any age can show. The Church of Livingstone and Duff, Patteson and Hannington, Judson, Goodell, and Coan, Paton, Thoburn, and Taylor, need not doubt that God is in the midst of her. Meanwhile the glorious examples of the missionaries of these ages enforce those prime essentials of enthusiastic faith, lifelong sacrifice, disinterested love, which with humility and labor, under God, command success.

Part Second.

THE TRUTHS THAT WON.

CHAPTER I.

TEACHING OF THE EARLY CHURCH—THE APOSTLES' CREED.

RELIGION has ever been the first and most important element in every human society and civilization. Quinet has said: "The variations of **Religion and Theology.** paganism reveal the chief cause of the variations of the social life of antiquity. Religion is the ideal which reigns over a whole civilization, giving to its arts even the same family air." That the Christian religion holds a not less important relation to modern civilization it is hoped will be evident in this volume.

Religion has been defined as the living reciprocal relationship of God to man and man to God. Its aim and effort is communion with the living God. The Christian religion is this relationship as based upon the Christian revelation contained in the Holy Scriptures. Religion is a matter of the inward personal life. It concerns the emotions and will quite as much as the intellect. It appeals to and commands the assent and devotion of the whole man. His whole nature is its domain. To this nature Christianity appeals, and demands the decision of the will upon its claims to purify and rule the personal and social life of men. For this purpose its truths are preached and believed. These truths win the man, and they win society. They bring salvation to the soul, and perpetuity to the State and civilization.

Theology is the intellectual apprehension of these truths, their relation to each other and to all other truth. Hence the task of theology varies with the varying sum and aspects of human knowledge; but she is always the queen of the sciences, allying the whole circle of knowledge in every age to the highest thoughts reached by the human mind. The development of Christian theology was made necessary by preaching Christianity to the educated heathen, and answering objections, and defending it against their philosophers. So the apologists were the first Christian theologians. It was developed by the defense of Christian truth against its distortion and mixture with heathen elements by heretical sects. It was farther developed by the desire of the ablest Christian thinkers, independent of controversy, to arrange Christian truths in the best order and proportion; that is, system. Though as theology in any systematic form always follows and never precedes the conquests of religion, yet every advance in the religious history of men, every great reform, is born of some great soul getting a larger knowledge and drinking deeper of the truths of God and his purpose for men. This was the significance of the teaching of Christ. His soul was large enough to incarnate and make known to men the profoundest truths for their help and salvation.

The one great instrument by which Christian truth was spread among men during the centuries of its outlawry and persecution was preaching. It will require an effort of the mind to put ourselves in the place of those who first listened to it. There was no general education of the people; there were no printed

The Value of Preaching

copies of the Scriptures for private reading and study. There was no New Testament in existence until after the writing of St. John's Gospel at the close of the first century. There was no authorized collection of the Scriptures of the New Testament in general use among the Churches, as were the Scriptures of the Old Testament, to the exclusion of other Christian writings, until more than fifty years later. Paul's first letter, the first in order of time of the New Testament writings, was not penned until twenty years after the Pentecost, and our earliest Gospels were yet later. The appeal was not to the written Scriptures of the New Testament, but to the preaching. It was the living word of the living man that conveyed the truest impression of the Lord crucified and risen, of his deeds of love and power, and words of salvation. If we were to listen to this preaching, we would hear first the reference to the prophets as the basis of the teaching, much as the Christian preaching of our day refers to the New Testament. The speaker, having thus set forth the hope of Israel, growing more clear and definite through the ages, proceeds to declare its fulfillment through the Christ whom the Jews crucified, and whom God raised from the dead, and through whom now is preached repentance and forgiveness of sins. Next is given to those who receive the message, in public and in private, the Lord's words, and narrative of his life, death, and resurrection, the precious and common gospel of the Christian preaching. To this truth is added the attestation of the Spirit of God, present with the preacher and the congregation, and manifesting himself, not only

**The Mission
of Preaching
in the
Apostolic
Age.**

to the hearts of men, but by permanent endowments of gifts and capacities. Thus were developed more than is possible by education, native abilities; and others were added whose existence was never suspected, and whose exercise mightily aided in the spread of the faith. The presence of the risen Lord, accompanying the preaching by his Spirit, was made known, not only by the changed habits, dispositions and desires, and renewed nature of the individual believers, but by the new power—that of Christian love—which came into and pervaded the new society. The new truth, the Divine power which accompanied it, and the results which followed from it in the new life of the individual and of society, were what made the preaching, not the written Scriptures, the means of founding the Christian Church in the chief cities of the Roman Empire. It was a ministration of Divine life, through consecrated human life, to the life of men and society. After the appeal to the Old Testament if the audience were Jews, and to the teachings of the poets and philosophers if they were Greeks, and the presentation of the death and resurrection of the Son of God as the universal ground for immediate repentance before God and belief in our Lord Jesus Christ, there would come the teaching of the Lord's words and his works. These would be emphasized at baptism and the Lord's Supper, which were observed from the first, and in their application to the inward life and daily practice of believers. They thus became the living standard by which men and Churches measured themselves before any written Gospels came into general circulation. It is very

hard for us to realize the intellectual attitude of the men of that day. Most of them could not read; but their memory served them immeasurably better than ours. It had never been debilitated by a daily press. Words heard in a service were remembered, and remembered literally for a lifetime. St. Anthony so learned his Bible that he did not need to refer to any written word. The great preachers and theologians had a command of the letter of the Scriptures that seems impossible to men of our time. These facts do not exclude the existence and circulation of fragmentary accounts of the work and words of our Lord from the first. Indeed, the opening words of St. Luke's Gospel seem to make certain their existence. But there was no such necessity felt for their use, and no such circulation of them as would seem essential to us. That the preaching—universal, living, mighty in spiritual power—was the means of preserving as well as of proclaiming the truth, and of founding the Churches, seems to be one of the fundamental facts of the early apostolic age.

By the time of the destruction of Jerusalem all this was changed. The older apostles and ministers of the Word, who had been eye-witnesses of his work and passion, were dead. They had left behind them the memory of the truths they had taught. The first three Gospels and the most of the New Testament was then in writing. The youngest disciple, the one most intimately associated with his Lord, remained to guard the deliverance, to preserve the tradition, and, by his writings, to complete the Canon. The second gener-

Turning-
point,
70 A. D.

ation of Christians appealed to these writings as to the Old Testament. From the Epistle of Barnabas down we have the quotations from which the whole New Testament could be restored, if the manuscripts were destroyed. The first place in these writings was given to the Lord's words and the record of his life; then came the letters of St. Paul and the other apostles; then the Acts and the Revelation.

The common faith of the early Christians included a belief in the Supreme God as the Heavenly Father, hence monotheism; a belief in the resurrection, eternal life, and the kingdom of God for men. To receive this gift of God, men must repent of their sins, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and live lives of self-denial, inward and outward purity. Christ was believed to be, and received as, the Revealer of the true God and his will for men, their Redeemer from sin through his death, and as living the perfect life and making this life possible to men. Hence, as the Savior and Judge of the world, to those who renounced the world the Spirit of God brought the renewal of nature and the indwelling of Christ, which enabled believers to live in the Spirit and to be a community of saints. They believed this common spiritual experience leveled all barriers of race, nationality, social position, or even sex. In the Church was found equality and brotherhood as nowhere else this side heaven. The two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were the distinctive marks of this society from its founding, as the command of the risen Lord.

The Apostolic Fathers are those who wrote in

the age succeeding the apostles. Their writings are mainly practical. They have great value as witnesses to the teaching and life of the Church in the age succeeding the apostles and the New Testament Scriptures.

The
Apostolic
Fathers.

The Epistle of Barnabas was written from Alexandria, probably about 80 A. D. It is moral in import, and catechetical in form. Its aim is to prove, through the use of the allegoric method, that the Old Testament is spiritual in its teaching.

Barnabas.

The Epistle of Clement, Bishop of Rome, was written to the Church at Corinth, 96 A. D. He moves in the atmosphere of the apostolic teaching; he recalls the careers of Peter and Paul, and gives glimpses of the Church organization. The so-called Second Epistle of Clement is the earliest Christian sermon extant outside of the New Testament, written about 130 A. D.

Clement.

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, wrote his epistles on the way to martyrdom at Rome, where he suffered, 107. The seven genuine letters show an enthusiastic Christian zeal and readiness to die for his Lord. They exalt the episcopate as a defense against division, and warn against the Gnostic errors already springing up.

Ignatius.

The "Teaching of the Twelve," in fifteen chapters, is of Alexandrian origin, and dates from about 110. The first six chapters are a treatise on Christian morals, setting forth the two ways of life and death very much like the Epistle of Barnabas. The remaining chapters are a manual of Christian worship, with directions added in regard to the

Teaching
of the
Twelve."

*along with his
in place
Disciple
of apostles
John*

reception of apostles, prophets, and wayfaring Christians, and the choice of bishops and deacons.

"The Shepherd" of Hermas was written from Rome, where his brother was bishop, about 140. It

is a homiletic allegory, ethical in its aim.

Hermas.

It shows that Christians can and should repent of sins committed after baptism. It is of the least literary merit of any of the Apostolic Fathers.

Papias and Polycarp were scholars of St. John, while Polycarp was the teacher of St. Irenæus. Papias is known to us only by a few fragments of

Papias and Polycarp. his "Oracles of the Lord," an exegesis rather than a collection of the Lord's

words. He was a Millenarian. Polycarp's letter is written from Smyrna, where he was bishop, and where he suffered martyrdom, 155. He quotes, in a short space, from Matthew, Luke, Acts, 1 Peter, and Paul's Epistles, including the Pastoral Epistles.

The progress of the development of these truths into the doctrines of the Christian Church and their crystallization into its creeds divides itself into five periods:

First period, 30-170, by which time the Apostles' Creed was in universal use in the Churches of the Catholic Christian faith.

Second period, 170-254 to the death of Origen.

Third period, 254-381 to Council of Constantinople, the close of the Arian controversy. Revised Nicene Creed.

Fourth period, 381-451 to the Council and Creed of Chalcedon; and

Fifth period, 400-600. The Monophysite controversies. The Pelagian controversy.

Imprisoned in Egypt during 1st century.

The developments which culminate in the creeds came always as the result of controversy. The first Confession of Faith required of believers was the acknowledgment of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in baptism. This direction, found in Matthew, xxviii, 19, was in use from the first, and the verse is better attested by early quotations than almost any other passage in the New Testament.¹

First Peroid
to the
Authoritative
and General
Use of the
Apostles'
Creed.

The first controversy which we have recorded was caused by the Christian Jews seeking to impose the yoke of the law upon the Gentile converts. How steadfastly Paul resisted this, with what passionate hate he was regarded, how his life was embittered and his work and influence sought to be destroyed, we may read in his Epistles. A striking confirmation of the existence of this hatred is found in the Ebionite sect. Though followers of the Judaizers of St. Paul's day, they did not emerge into prominence until early in the second century. They held that the obligation of the law was universal; that Jesus was not born of the Virgin, but that the Divine Spirit came upon him at baptism; that he was a good Jew, but that Paul was an apostate from the law, and a false apostle. They were never numerous, but lingered on until the fourth century.

Ebionites.

As Ebionism would restrict Christianity to the limitations of a Jewish sect, so Gnosticism, at the other extreme, would make it a philosophy of religion which should take into itself all the permanent elements of the Greek philosophy, Persian dualism, and Christianity. In this age of universal intercourse of nations and knowledge of

Gnosticism.

religions, which for the first time surpasses that of the beginning of our era in the Roman Empire, we now see this same movement going on. An effort is made to replace Christianity by a higher development called Theosophy, or Christian Science, or some other name, in which it shall be a component element with esoteric Buddhism, the Vedantic philosophy, theurgy, spiritualism, or other offshoots of alien faiths and fantastic philosophies. In this there is nothing new or alarming. This eclectic movement may lead away individuals; it has neither force nor vitality enough to touch the foundations of the faith. So the Gnostics led away good, pious people, had a strict morality, anticipated Christian theology in some particulars, formed numerous Churches and communities, but faded away before the awakened consciousness of the Church to the majesty and power of her Lord, and the sentiment that his teaching is the absolute religion, and no factor of a higher development.

The first of the Gnostics was Simon Magus, mentioned in the eighth chapter of the Acts, and his disciple, Menander. He seemed to have a great following in Samaria, and came to Rome to teach his doctrines, which were a mingling of Syrian-Phœnician idolatry and Christian ideas, he himself being the representative of the highest God.

Cerinthus, who lived in Asia Minor in the time of St. John, followed him. He taught that the world was not created by the highest God, but by an inferior being. Jesus was a man naturally begotten, into whom Christ descended at his baptism, and from whom he separated at the crucifixion, so that Christ did not die.

Marcion was a practical, reforming, rather than an intellectual or philosophical leader. He was a prosperous ship-owner from Pontus, who came to Rome in 139. He joined the Church there, to which he gave a considerable sum of money. He was expelled for his heretical teaching, 144. He traveled much in the East, and founded his societies in Christian communities. He was living in 163. Marcion taught that the God of the Old Testament, the God of creation and the law, is not the supreme or good God, the God of redemption. All the New Testament writings, except the Epistles of Paul and the Gospel of Luke, were rejected. Marcion was a strong religious character, of strict morality and of great organizing talent. Marcionite Churches were formed wherever the Christians were at all numerous.

Marcion.

Following Saturninus and Basilides, Valentinus was the last and ablest great teacher of the Gnostics. "In his school were started those problems of the relations of the persons in the Trinity and the natures in Christ, which occupied the Greek fathers for three centuries. His writings are marked by originality and depth;" and yet his scheme was fantastic and absurd.

**Valentinus,
138-160.
Rome.
Egypt.**

The most important of the Gnostic teachings were: The distinction of the highest God from the Creator of the world—the opposition between creation and redemption, so that the mediator of the one can not be the mediator of the other; the highest God is not the God of the Old Testament, hence it was not his revelation; matter is independent and eternal—evil inheres in matter; the ab-

**Gnostic
Doctrines.**

solute God unfolds himself in æons, or heavenly powers; Jesus and Christ are sharply distinguished—there is no real union between Christ and the man Jesus; Christians are divided into three classes—spiritual (who are saved), natural (who are capable of being saved), material (who are not); the distinction is rather intellectual than moral, though including both. The second advent is rejected. A severe asceticism was taught, though a smaller part thought the sensuous nature indifferent, and became libertines.

The Gnostics anticipated the Church in endeavoring to found their whole doctrine upon the New Testament Scriptures without the aid of tradition, and in their distinction in regard to the Old Testament as in part fulfilled, in part done away, and in part changed. With them originated the Roman Catholic doctrines of purgatory, of the two standards of morals—one for the religious, and one for the common Christian—and that the soul of the advanced Christian is the bride of Christ.

Though falling beyond the limits of the first period, in logical order comes the last of the eclectic **Manichæism**, attempts to form a universal religion. This 250-1200. was made by Mani, of noble Persian descent, born in Southern Babylonia, 215. His father was an adherent of a Babylonian sect, which had been influenced by Christianity. Mani traveled extensively in Central Asia and India, and, returning, began to teach his religion. He made many converts, and came to the Persian court of King Sapor. In 270 he would have been arrested, but escaped by flight. Hormuz (272-273), his successor, favored Mani; but he was soon followed by Bahram I, who delivered

him to the rage of the Magian priests. He was crucified and his body flayed in 276.

Mani's system was not the heresy of a Christian sect, but was built on the foundation of the old Semitic, Babylonian nature-religions. It assimilated Persian and Christian elements; yet Mohammedanism is much nearer Christianity than Manichæism; for Mohammedanism is monotheistic, while the chief effort of Manichæism was to solve the problem of the origin and existence of evil by a crude dualistic materialism. Light is good, darkness evil. Men escape from the dominions of darkness to that of light through the acceptance of the teaching of Mani, the greatest of the prophets, or, in the West, the Paraclete, and by a strict ascetic discipline. There is no redemption in the system. In the West it became greatly modified by Christianity, and enthralled the strong mind of Augustine for nine years. To its apparent solution of the problem of evil it added a simple worship, a strict morality, and a firm organization. It spread rapidly. For centuries its head, or pope, lived at Babylon, and later at Samarcand. From it sprang the heretical sect of Bogmiles, Paulicans, and Cathari, which troubled the Church in the thirteenth century; after which they disappeared. Augustine combated their opinions, and is the chief writer against them.

Against the widespread, subtle, and most dangerous Gnostic errors and heresy, the Church, its teachers, and bishops had to contend from 125 **Defense of the Faith.** to 250. From this opposition, essential to the life of Christianity arose three important developments: First, the adoption of the Apostles'

Creed as the universal Confession of Faith for the Church. We can trace its use before 140 in the Roman Church. Some trace it back to the time of St. Paul; but of this we have no proof. In its old Roman form, it is as follows:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty. And in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary: crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; the third day he arose from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost; the holy Church; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; (the life everlasting)." "The Maker of heaven and earth" was added in the Gnostic controversy. The other clauses were added later; the descent into hell, the last of all.

This Creed is strictly monotheistic. The Father Almighty is the Creator of the world and of matter. He created all things, so that they are under his power and dominion. This excludes all dualism. Jesus Christ is the Son of God and Son of man. This excludes all docetism, views of Cerinthus, and dynamistic monarchianism, those of Paul, of Samosata. The Christian doctrine of Last Things, or Eschatology, excludes all Gnostic doctrines of æons and development. This Creed thus shuts out definitely the Gnostic doctrine from the teaching of the Church. Those who realized the greatness of the struggle and its pressing danger can not repeat this earliest of the Christian creeds without seeing in it a memorial of one of the greatest victories won by Christian truth.

The ages have only added to the value of these great truths the Creed proclaims. They have won, and they will win.

A second result of this conflict with Gnosticism was the formation of a strict or closed New Testament canon, so as to shut out all but the apostolic writings from an authoritative or devotional use in the Church, and to include those shut out by Marcion's or any other mutilating rule.

New
Testament
Canon.

The third result was the development of the power of the episcopate, which will be treated in the third part of this volume. From these three sources as the issue of this conflict with heresy—the Apostles' Creed, the New Testament Canon, and the power of the episcopate as the guarantee of the purity of doctrine—arose the old Catholic Church, including the East and West, and as opposed to the heretical sects. At the end of this period it stood forth to the world a great religion and firmly-established Church; its Scriptures, Creed, and organization enabling it to stand firm against the cruel persecutions which were to come, and greatly aiding in that conflict with the empire and the barbarians which was to issue in her triumph.

The
Episcopate.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDING OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY—ORIGEN.

THE second period, which extends from 170 to 254, saw the rise of the greatest Church teachers before the time of Constantine. The most important of these were Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and, above all, Origen. They were all vigorous and successful apologists. The great work of Irenæus and Hippolytus, in which Tertullian joined, was combating Gnosticism. The defense against false teaching and its repulse must always follow its attack. So completely was their work done that the ground was cleared for Origen to lay the foundations for a comprehensive statement of the whole circle of Christian doctrine. The period was marked by the rise and decay of Montanism, and the rise of those heretical opinions concerning the Trinity and the relation of the Son to the Father, which preceded the outbreak of the Arian controversy.

Our period opens with a controversy no longer of mere intellectual interest, but of practical import as bearing upon the daily life of believers and of the Church. Montanism ran its course from 150 to 300. Montanus appeared about 150 in Pepeszua, Phrygia. He called believers to receive the reign of the Paraclete (Holy Ghost) through the prophecy which Montanus proclaimed. "The heavenly Jerusalem is in Pepeszua. Now is the reign of the Paraclete. Stand aloof from the world; leave

house and home, and come to Pepezua, and build up the kingdom of God! Bring to an end the worldly conformity of Church by strict personal life, and by the exercise of strict moral Church discipline on all sinners in the Church! The prophets are to decide on all cases of difficulty." Later, in the West, the gathering at Pepezua was given up, and the effort was made to bring the whole Church to their rigorist opinions. In the Church there have always been those who believed that the Church should stand altogether aloof from the world, and utter an unceasing protest against its spirit and its works, and those who believe that Christianity is to pervade the whole of human society, and thus bring in the kingdom of God. The tendency of the latter class is to a laxity which floods the Church with worldliness as the standards of the Church are lowered to conform to the ideals of the world. Then the former class make their power known by protest and division. The Montanists were the Puritans of their time. Some features of their life remind us of early Methodism and some of the Irvingite sect. Tertullian was their greatest advocate. The Montanists spread rapidly, but came in conflict with the episcopal organization by their doctrine of prophecy; this proved too strong for them. Montanism died out; but so did spiritual gifts from the Church.

The great Church teachers of this period were Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Irenæus was born in Asia Minor, about 130. He was a scholar of Polycarp, Irenæus. Bishop of Smyrna, who was a scholar of St. John. He came to Rome, perhaps with Polycarp, and was

teaching there when Polycarp was martyred, 155. He went to Lyons in Gaul, and became presbyter of that Church. He was absent in Rome, on business for the Churches, during the persecution of 177, in which Bishop Ponthinus was martyred. He was chosen his successor, and died there, probably in 202; tradition says by martyrdom. Though his teaching was only developed in controversy, he was the first systematic theologian, from whom all since have learned. He was fitted for this work by his philosophic spirit, his breadth of view, and his moderation in temperament. His central thoughts were three: (1) The unity of God in creation, redemption, and dominion. (2) Jesus Christ the sole Redeemer through his incarnation. For redemption he must be both God and man. (3) Human nature becomes divine through the gift of eternal life through the incarnation, which is the central point of history. "Jesus Christ, on account of his great love for us, was made what we are, that we may become what he is." He sums up our humanity in himself.

Hippolytus was a Roman presbyter, writing in Greek, who flourished from 199 to 235. He was a scholar of Irenæus, a learned and voluminous writer.

Hippolytus. He was the friend of the Empress Severa, and the opponent of the Roman Bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus, whom he accused of Modalism and laxity in the administration of Church discipline. He sympathized with Tertullian, and was the friend of Origen. Being banished to the Island of Sardinia in the persecution of Maximinus, he died in exile, 235. His greatest work which has come down to us is the "Refutation of all Heresies." Irenæus

and Hippolytus, with Tertullian, were the great literary opponents of Gnosticism. He shared the theological views of Irenæus.

Tertullian was born in Carthage, 160. His father was a centurion of the proconsul of Africa. He was trained in literature, philosophy, history, science, and antiquities. He spoke and wrote Greek. He studied law, and probably practiced in Rome. His conversion, which occurred in 192, was as radical and complete in bringing his whole nature into the obedience and service of Christ, as St. Paul's before or St. Augustine's after his time. In the midst of heathen licentiousness, he seems to have lived a life of moral cleanness, to have been the husband of one wife, though childless. He was ordained presbyter of the Church in Carthage. He was a Montanist in principle from 200 to 205. In the latter year he identified himself with them on the question of the veiling of virgins. He held, with the Montanists, that maidens should not appear unveiled in public. The year of his death is unknown; it may have been anywhere from 223 to 240.

Tertullian's greatness is in his writings, in which he appears as a powerful apologist, an acute theologian, and an unceasing advocate of a strict Christian life and a rigorous Church discipline. The times in which he lived doubtless influenced the character of his writings. Four years after his conversion, the Septimian persecution broke out. During seven years it raged; and in the eight subsequent ones Tertullian wrote most of his writings which have come down to us, and changed from the Catholic to the Montanistic communion. Christianity for him was a warfare in

which every Christian should be eager to die for his crucified Lord. He embraced it with all the warmth and devotion of his passionate nature. It admitted of no compromises, but was always in the field facing a powerful, unscrupulous, and deadly foe, whose success meant nothing less than the undying damnation of the soul. In him there was none of the sweet reasonableness of Christianity. His feeling and thinking is the opposite of that of his great contemporary, Origen, whose experience of persecution was personal in the keenest bereavements of his youth and the cruel tortures of his age and the martyrdoms of his scholars and friends; yet the atmosphere of suffering never embittered the great soul of the most unwearied of the Christian fathers. But Tertullian was of African blood and Roman training, if indeed there did not mingle in his veins the blood of the races who had fought under Hannibal and conquered under Scipio; so he could contemplate with fierce delight the endless sufferings of cruel persecutors in the torments of another world. So he was Roman in his thinking. The formal legal side, not the spiritual, ruled him. His conception of Christianity is law rather than love. The Paraclete Holy Ghost gave a new law, through Montanistic prophecy, in whose particular rules and commands, definiteness, and application, it was superior to the New Testament. This is the fundamental idea of Latin theology; it is always legal. Its philosophy is realistic; its law must be definite, with an authorized expositor to determine its application. If not the Montanist Paraclete, then the bishop or the Pope in the Catholic Church, or the Old Testament precepts in the Re-

formed Church. This view had its right against the one-sided philosophical contemplation and spiritual and idealistic conceptions of the Greek fathers. It had its mission in the formation of a fixed rule of faith and firm discipline, which, from Rome, was to subject and train the rude and barbarous tribes of Teutonic heathenism. But it is a partial view, and not the full idea of the Christian faith. To the Christ who is the truth must be added the Christ who is the life; and to the commands and ordinances of the law must be added the love which is the highest fulfillment of the supreme moral obligation.

Of this Latin theology Tertullian was the father. He first gave expression to those fundamental ideas which have ruled its course—the sense of the sinfulness of sin; the necessity of satisfaction in redemption; the need of grace; and the value of good works. He began its doctrine of man and of redemption. He is the father of Cyprian and Augustine, Jerome and Leo I, of Calvin, Knox, and the English Puritans. His extraordinary power of concise, clear, definite, and fitting expression of ideas in a single word made him the author of distinctive theological terms; such as “substance” and “persons” in the Trinity, “two natures” in Christ, “satisfaction” in redemption, and “original sin.” His charm is in his style—terse, pointed, and weighty. Single sentences stand out like flashlights from a beacon; antitheses are sharpened into paradoxes. Cardinal Newman has called him the most powerful writer of the early centuries. Add to this the power of an impetuous nature, glowing with love to his Lord, spurning compromises and restraints, which strove to real-

ize in the Church that ascetic ideal of holiness which led to the founding of monastic communities within the century following his death, and it can be easily seen why, in spite of his narrowness and harshness, he attracts more readers than almost any other Church father.

Titus Flavius Clemens succeeded, as the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, its founder, Pantænus. From its founding, about 180, for more than two hundred years, it was the most renowned school in Christendom. It was founded for the instruction in Christianity of converts from paganism of philosophic culture. It was continued as a school for the training of Christian teachers and theologians. Clement was a man of wide scholarship and philosophic culture, who had traveled from Rome to Athens, and from Antioch to Jerusalem, and back to Alexandria. He was converted in middle life. He seems to have been at the head of the Alexandrian school from 190 to 202, when he fled from the Septimian persecution to Cappadocia; and afterwards he returned to Jerusalem, where he is supposed to have died, 220. This school, on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, wrought out its system, with the aid of the philosophy of Plato and his followers, and the allegorical method of Philo. For Clement "Christianity is the doctrine of the creation, education, and redemption of the human race through the Logos, whose work culminates in the perfect Christian or Gnostic."

Origen was the profoundest scholar of the early Church. He was a learned critic, a diligent exegete, one of the ablest of the apologists, the first great theo-

logian. With a breadth of thought unsurpassed in the ages since, he laid the foundation for those definitions afterward formulated by the Councils into the Creeds. Origen was born at Alexandria in 185. His parents were both Christians. His father, Leonidas, was a man of wealth and liberal culture, who delighted in directing the steps of his son in the paths of secular learning as well as in the more congenial walks of sacred literature. The quickness of perception and depth of understanding shown by the boyish learner in holy themes was the joy of his father's heart. When seventeen years of age, Alexandria became the chief scene of Christian suffering during the Septimian persecutions. Origen's father was apprehended, and carried before the magistrate. Origen strove to reach him, that he might share his fate; his mother only prevented him by concealing his clothes. Finding that he could not accomplish his purpose, he wrote a letter to his father, exhorting him to take heed and not to change his mind "on account of us;" that is, his mother, six brothers, and himself. Leonidas was martyred, his property confiscated; and Origen supported the widow and dependent orphans by opening a school for secular instruction in philosophy, and received aid also from a wealthy lady, who supported a number of young men while they pursued their studies. During the persecution he was both zealous and diligent in visiting the martyrs in prison, going with them to trial, and kissing them when led away to die. He narrowly escaped sharing their fate. At length he could not remain in one place, but for safety went from house to house. His talents and his zeal led the

Origen
His Life.

Christians to reopen their school, with Origen as sole instructor when but eighteen years of age. He soon raised up a notable group of scholars, prelates, and martyrs. For this purpose he had the advantage of superior instruction as well as of great natural gifts and unwearied diligence. Pantænus and Clement, the founders of the Alexandrian school, were his instructors in divinity, while Ammonius Saccas, the founder of the Neo-Platonic school of philosophy, was his tutor in metaphysics. Though Origen thought it best to close his philosophical school when he became instructor in theology, he was no bigot. Alone of all the men of his time, so far as we know, "he also instructed many of the more common people in the Biblical studies, asserting frequently that they would receive no small advantage from them in understanding the Holy Scriptures."

At this time and during his whole life Origen was a strenuous ascetic. While teaching, he sold his copies of classical writings, receiving therefor an annuity of twelve cents per day, on which he lived for many years, refusing the voluntary contributions of his friends. He not only denied himself by severe and rigorous fasts, but after laborious days, cut short his sleep. Even the few hours he gave to sleep he spent stretched on the bare ground. Fulfilling literally the Savior's command not to have "two coats, neither shoes," he suffered poverty, cold, and all but nakedness. While still a young man, misunderstanding Matt xix. 12, he performed an act of self-mutilation, which brought upon him severe ecclesiastical censure, and of which he afterward repented. The rashness and error of his youth taught him

that God's methods of discipline are better than ours. In these years Origen devoted himself with untiring assiduity to study. He says: "When I had devoted myself wholly to the Word, and my fame went abroad concerning my proficiency, as I was sometimes visited by heretics, sometimes by those who were conversant with the studies of the Greeks, especially those who were pursuing philosophy, I was resolved to examine both those opinions of the heretics and those works of the philosophers which pretend to speak the truth." The heathen Porphyry tells us how well he carried out this design: "He was always in company with Plato and the works of the chief philosophers known to his time, and others whose writings are valued in his hands." He acquired not only the learning of the Greeks, but also became familiar with the Hebrew, in which his mother was his fellow-student.

Origen was no mere scholar and ascetic; he knew well the men, the form and fashion of his time. About the age of twenty-seven he visited Rome, the capital of the world—the representative of its material forces as Alexandria of its intellectual energy. He went on two missionary journeys to Arabia, once to the heathen, and in 215 to the heretics. At the age of forty-three, 228, he visited Palestine. Two years later he visited Ephesus, staid some time at Athens, and, on his return, stopped at Cæsarea, where he was ordained presbyter. This act angered Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, who excommunicated him. Origen went to Cæsarea in 231, at the age of forty-six, leaving Alexandria forever. The sentence of excommunication was entirely disregarded by the

bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Greece; and he was on friendly terms with his two scholars, who succeeded Demetrius in the See of Alexandria.

The fame of Origen was such that he was upon terms of intimacy with the greatest and best of the age in which he lived. He was called to visit the Empress Mammea, the mother of Alexander Severus, probably at Antioch in 228. He taught concerning the faith in Christ, and we know that his words were not unfavorably received. Later the Emperor Philip the Arabian assisted him in opening his school at Cæsarea; and Origen corresponded with his wife, the Empress Severa. He had the friendship of the best and ablest bishops of his time; but one of them is known to have been unfriendly to him, and he from envy. His lectures were so highly esteemed that the Bishop of Jerusalem and the chiefest of his clergy sat as learners at his feet.

The twenty-three years that he spent at Cæsarea formed the most fruitful period of his literary life. The wealth of Ambrose, whom he had converted from the Gnostic heresy, enabled him to keep seven amanuenses, who relieved each other as the indefatigable vigor of Origen successively wearied them. He also kept seven copyists of his own work, beside those skilled in calligraphy, for the parts of his difficult work requiring more than ordinary skill. Origen wrote the first detailed commentary on the Scriptures. He wrote "*Contra Celsus*," unrivaled among apologies. His recension of the Greek version of the Old Testament was the greatest work of his life. It consists of six and sometimes eight or nine columns of parallel versions, with critical notes on each. The

"*De Principiis*" is the first independent attempt of a Christian thinker to form a system of theology. His commentaries upon the Scriptures have only partially come down to us; and yet they form in the Berlin edition of 1831 sixteen volumes of his works. In these writings we have some proof of the untiring energy of the man.

Origen seems to have been nurtured in an atmosphere of martyrdom. The names of eight of his first pupils, who suffered death for the gospel's sake, have come down to us. When he was just established at Cæsarea the Maximinian persecution broke out. Origen at once published his oration concerning martyrdom to comfort and sustain the afflicted Church. Eighteen years later the Decian persecution raged. Origen was now an old man; but his fame made him worthy of the test. He was apprehended, tortured with the iron collar, immured in the deepest recesses of the prison, stretched for days upon the rack, threatened with burning at the stake; but he never faltered. The fury of the persecution spent itself. Origen was released; but he did not rally. He lingered a few months, and then, as his father had done, received a martyr's crown, 254.

Some measure of the penetration and suggestiveness of Origen's ideas may be gained from a few extracts. We can then see why no theological writer can escape dealing with the problems which he states or with his method of treatment of them.

"Now, in our judgment, God can do everything which it is possible for him to do without ceasing to be God, and good, and wise. But Celsus asserts—not comprehending the expression, 'God can do all

things'—that he will not desire to do anything wicked, admitting that he has the *power*, but not the

Concern- *will, to do evil.' We, on the contrary, main-*
ing *tain that, as that will which by nature pos-*
God. *sesses the property of sweetening other*
Contra *things through its own inherent sweet-*
Celsus, III, *ness, can not produce bitterness contrary*
70, 492.

to its own peculiar nature; nor that whose nature is to produce light through its being light can cause darkness: so neither is God able to commit wickedness; for the power of doing evil is contrary to his Deity and its omnipotence."

"There is, therefore, One whose favor we should seek, and to whom we ought to pray that he would be gracious to us—the Most High God, whose favor

The Inter- *is gained by piety and the practice of every*
cession *virtue. And if he would have us to seek*
of *the favor of others after the Most High*
Angels. *God, let him consider that, as the motion*
Contra *of the shadow follows the motion of the*
Celsus, VIII, *body which casts it, so in like manner it*
64, 664.

follows that, when we have the favor of God, we have also the good-will of all angels and spirits who are friends of God. For they know who are worthy of the Divine approval, and they are not only well disposed to them, but they co-operate with them in their endeavors to please God; they seek his favor on their behalf; with their prayers they join their own prayers and intercession for them. We may indeed boldly say that men who aspire after better things have, when they pray to God, tens of thousands of sacred powers on their side."

"I think, therefore, that all the saints who depart

from this life will remain in some place situated on the earth, which Holy Scripture calls paradise, as in some place of instruction, and, so to speak, class-room or school of souls, in which they are to be instructed in all the things which they had seen on earth, and to receive also some information respecting the things which are to follow in the future, as even when in this life they had obtained in some degree indications of future events, although through a glass darkly,—all of which are revealed more clearly and distinctly to the saints in their proper time and place. If any one, indeed, be pure in heart and holy in mind and more practiced in perception, he will, by making more rapid progress, quickly ascend to a place in the air, and reach the kingdom of heaven through those mansions in the various places which the Greeks have termed spheres—that is, globes—but which Holy Scripture has called heaven; in each of which he will first see clearly what is done there, and, in the second place, will discover the reason why things are so done; and thus he will, in order, pass through all gradations following him who hath passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, who said, ‘I will that where I am, these may be also.’ ”

The
Future
State.
De Princ-
ipis, 2,
6, 299.

“For in the same way also our bodies are to be supposed to fall into the earth like a grain; and—that germ being implanted in them which contains the bodily substance—although the bodies die and become corrupted, and are scattered abroad, yet, by the word of God, that very germ which is always safe in the substance of the body raises them from the earth,

Resurrec-
tion-germ
Theory.
De Princ-
ipis, II,
10, 3, 249.

and restores and repairs them, as the power which is in the grain of wheat, after its corruption and death, repairs and restores the grain into a body having stalk and ear. And so also to those who shall deserve to obtain an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, that germ of the body's restoration which we have before mentioned, by God's command, restores, out of the earthly and animal body, a spiritual one, capable of inhabiting the heavens."

"The sufferings and disparities of life, the contrasts of the law and the gospel simply reveal that what we see is but a fragment of a vast system in which we can do no more than to trace tendencies, consequences, signs, and rest upon the historic fact of the incarnation. In this respect the entire range of being is 'as one thought,' answering to the absolutely perfect will of God, while 'we that are but part can see but part, now this and now that.'" A single sentence from Origen was quoted by Bishop Butler as containing the germ of his Analogy.

As a theological teacher, Origen had grave faults, which the Church has recognized and condemned. Led by the influence of his Platonic conceptions, he believed in the pre-existence of human souls in another stage of being before their birth in this world; in a succession of worlds previous to and after this, so that the history of this world is but a moment in the successive world ages; in a purificatory process carried on from world to world, until all, even Satan, should be completely redeemed from sin. He believed this redemption to depend upon the free choice of the will; yet he never showed

Our Relation
to the
Scheme of
Things.

Defects
of Origen.

how that choice should in other worlds, more than in this, result in eternal blessedness. In consequence of these views, and following the Alexandrian tradition, he taught there were two classes of Christians—the ordinary believer and the advanced Gnostic, or Christian—and two classes of truth for each.

In spite of these defects, he was thoroughly Christian in his thought, the eighth chapter of Romans and the fifteenth of First Corinthians being the basis of his teaching. In the breadth of his view, the geniality of his temper, and the devoutness of his spirit he has never been surpassed. He has been the teacher of teachers, and attracted the great Christian thinkers of every age, with the possible exception of Luther. He has been called the Schleiermacher of the early Church. In spite of all errors, no other writer of the early Church is so fruitful and suggestive.

Origen's distinctive greatness is as a scholar and a teacher. In these combined relations he has never been surpassed in the Christian Church. His unwearied diligence laid under tribute and absorbed for his use the knowledge of his time. Through his personal influence and his writings he has more widely influenced Christendom than any other father of the Church. Augustine and Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, and Wesley have more profoundly influenced portions of Christendom; the influence of Origen has touched the whole.

He owes this distinction to his achievements as a student and teacher of the Holy Scriptures. This field absorbed the greater portion of his iron toil. Jerome knew more Hebrew, was a sounder exegete, and gave Christendom the

Biblical
Scholar.

best of the ancient versions of the Holy Scriptures, the Latin Vulgate; but the services of Origen exceeded his. Origen was the founder of the science of textual criticism, through his great labors on the Septuagint and on the New Testament. His Scholia are the earliest specimens of marginal explanations. His Commentaries were the first continuous exegesis of the Scriptures. All commentators, ancient or modern, have dug from his mine; and a very considerable part of what is valuable in them they owe to Origen. Not only did he lay the foundation, but eagerly built up the fabric of Biblical interpretation. If he used the allegorical method, it was with definite limits, while he was an accurate grammarian as well. His knowledge and contribution to the interpretation of the Bible were absolutely unrivaled.

His influence as an apologist and theologian was scarcely less far-reaching. As a theologian he aimed to make central in his thinking the supremacy of God our Father and his character as holiness and love;

Theologian. Jesus Christ as the Mediator of creation, revelation, and redemption; in the unity of creation, human free will, or the power of moral determination, as a decisive element in the fulfillment of the Divine counsel. He also emphasized the teaching that Christ died for all men. He aimed to show the agreement of the best human thinking with the Holy Scriptures, and that they are consistent with all real knowledge and with the highest reason. To this end he used Plato's philosophy, his archetypal ideas, and the allegoric method. He won to Christianity the educated classes of the Greek world, and made forever, as against all heretics, the Old Testament a

part of the Christian Scriptures. He struck the grand outlines of an all-embracing Christian theology, which, however they may have been rectified, have never been surpassed.

To these results of his thinking and his labors must be added his abilities and disposition as a man and his character as a Christian, which made him so inspiring as a teacher and so pure as an example. To his sympathy with all human learning he added an equal sympathy with all human souls.

Character.
This moved him to teach the rude and the ignorant as well as those trained in the schools, made him a most winning and successful controversialist, and gave him, as a teacher of teachers, friends of the great and noble spirits of all times. Though an ascetic, he was not of the legal spirit. His mastery of himself and harmony with his highest convictions gave an ease and sweetness of spirit amid unfavorable or frightful surroundings, which, like his tireless labors, has never been excelled in all the ages since.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY—CREED OF NICÆA.

AFTER the conflict with the attempts to absorb the Christian religion in a religious philosophy had failed, men began to occupy themselves with the intellectual representations of the relations of the three Divine persons acknowledged in Christian baptism, especially that of the Son to the Father, and between the two natures in the person of our Lord. The **Monarchian-** Greek disposition, intellect, and culture **ism.** seemed to be peculiarly fitted for and to delight in this task. Its difficulty may be conceived when we reflect that, after all the efforts of all the ablest thinkers during the centuries of the history of our race, we yet know so little of the relations of body, mind, and spirit in ourselves. If these great Greek thinkers and theologians did not attain to absolute certainty in their conclusions, and answer all questions to the satisfaction of thoughtful minds for all ages, they did present that solution of these problems which at that time demanded authoritative answer from the Church, and which was the wisest then offered, and has commanded general assent in the Church in all ages since. It is easy to say that the view of Athanasius or Leo is defective; yet no man familiar with the question would replace them with the views of Arius or Eusebius, of Nestorius or Eutyches; and the choice had to be made from among

them. In the consideration of these questions, we are to remember that the Protestant Christian is bound, as to his faith and conscience, only by the Holy Scriptures, which contain all that is necessary to salvation both for our faith and practice, and that these creeds have for us only the authority of their truth. We are also to remember that they represent to us the highest result of human thinking and the best expression of the mind of the Church on the most difficult problems of the Christian faith. These problems could not be ignored; some answer must be given; the future of the Church depended upon the answer indorsed by her authority. It is of no inconsiderable consequence that the great branches of the Christian faith, the Greek, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Churches, rest upon these great common foundations of theological thinking.

Three views were presented and discussed before the adoption of that conception of the Divinity of our Lord which prevailed at Nicæa. These were Dynamistic Monarchianism, Modalistic Monarchianism, and Subordinationism. Dynamistic Monarchianism—from *dynamis* (power) and *monarchy* (sole rule of one)—taught that the Divine in Christ was only a power, and not a nature. Christ had not a pre-existing spiritual being, but one after his moral condition—a man exalted to Divine dignity. It exalted the human moral development of Christ. This view was first contended for by a layman, Theodotus, a leather-worker from Byzantium. His work belongs to a former period, but is given here for connected presentation. He came to Rome about 185, and taught that Christ was a mere man. He was ex-

**Dynamistic
Monarchian-
ism.**

communicated by Bishop Victor, 192-202. The leading representative of these opinions was Paul of Samosata, Bishop and Viceroy of Antioch under Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. He was excommunicated, 269; deposed, the sentence being then carried into execution, in 273. The Unitarians are the modern representatives of this party; they were never numerous in the Church.

Respecting these views, many went to the other extreme, and were called Modalistic Monarchians, because they made Christ only a mode of being the Father. They were also called **Modalistic Monarchianism.** Patripassians; that is, the Father suffers because they said "God was crucified," "God died," etc. Its most prominent advocate was Sabellius, of Libya, who came to Rome, and was at first favored, but afterward excommunicated, by Bishop Callistus, 218-223. He taught that, for creation, God is Father; for redemption, he is Redeemer; for the Church, he is the Holy Ghost. Hence, the Trinity is one of equality and economy. This was a large and influential party in the Church. The Roman bishops for thirty years—Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus—were Modalistic Monarchians.

There were those who believed that Christ was Divine, but that his independent personal being must be emphasized in opposition to the followers of Sabellius. They held the Son to be subordinate to the Father. They taught that Christ, the Logos, had a personal substance and pre-existence; that he belongs to the inward necessity of the being of the Father. It is false to say there was a time when he was not. Christ was truly God, but

inferior in dignity. The word Logos, applied to Christ, is found in St. John's Gospel. It was so used by Justin Martyr, in 135; Theophilus of Antioch, 175; and Athenagoras, 175-185. The term is used to express the thought that the Mediator of creation and redemption is the same. Dionysius of Alexandria taught that Christ is the creature of the Father. Hippolytus and Tertullian, though they combated modalism, held subordination views. Origen advanced to the statement of the eternal generation of the Son, though he held that he was inferior in person and office.

In the third period (254-381), the Church came to a definite and authoritative decision in regard to the Divinity of our Lord. She advanced be- Arius and
His Doctrine. yond all Monarchianism and Subordinationism to the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople. The occasion of taking this step was the teaching of the presbyter, Arius. The one great man by whom it was carried through was Athanasius. Both of these men were connected with the Church in Alexandria. Arius was a scholar, as was Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Lucian of Antioch. Lucian was a thorough Biblical scholar, but was influenced by the views of Paul of Samosata, whose deposition he refused to sanction. Arius, thus trained and influenced, came to Alexandria, where he was ordained presbyter, 311. He was an eloquent preacher, with a subtle mind. He was tall, of agreeable address, and lived a pure life. He stated his view, that "there was a time when the Lord was not," in 319, and was condemned by a council of Egyptian bishops in 321. Christianity had now come to the throne of the world; and beyond all

questions of politics, of civil and social life, these theological distinctions became the theme of discussion in the street and in the market-place. The gist of the doctrine of Arius was: "The Father is Father; the Son is Son; therefore, the Father must have existed before the Son; therefore, once the Son was not; therefore, he was made, like all creatures, of a substance which had not previously existed." These opinions were rejected by the Council of Nicæa, 325. After long debate, the 318 bishops came to the decision, with only two dissenting voices, that the Son was of the same substance with the Father, and hence of equal co-eternity. Arius was condemned and banished. Eleven years later he was recalled, and died in 336, as he was about to be restored to his former position in the Church.

The man most influential in securing the condemnation of Arius at Nicæa—the lifelong and victorious opponent of his doctrines—was Athanasius, at that time a young deacon attached to Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria. Athanasius argued in favor of the eternal generation of the Son and his consubstantiality (Homoousia) with the Father—that is, his perfect Divinity as Son of God—on the following grounds: The Father must always have been Father, or he could not be the absolute and unchanging God. The Son is not Divine if he is not Son by nature, but only by God's grace. The unity of man with God falls to the ground if the Mediator of their unity is only a creature, and not the absolute God. "If Christ," he said, "differed from other creatures simply as being the only creature immediately produced by God, then he could not

Athanasius.

His

Teaching.

bring the creature into fellowship with God, since we must be constrained to think of something still intermediate between him as a creature and the Divine essence, which differed from him—something whereby he might stand in communion with God; and this intermediate being would be precisely the Son of God in the proper sense. In analyzing the conception of God communicated to the creature, it would be necessary to arrive, at least, at the conception of that which requires nothing intermediate in order to communion with God—which does not participate in God's essence as something foreign to itself, but which is itself the self-communicating essence of God. This is the only Son of God—the being who can be so called in the proper sense. The expressions, Son of God and Divine generation, are of a symbolic nature, and denote simply the communication of the Divine essence. It is only on the supposition that Christ is, in this sense alone, the proper Son of God, that he can make rational creatures children of God. It is the Logos who imparts himself to them through whom they live in God—the Son of God within them, through fellowship with whom they become themselves children of God."

Professor Möller puts it concisely thus: "Nothing less than the Eternal Son of God, through his incarnation, could accomplish the redemption of mankind. Christ has renewed the whole man through his union with him. The fundamental thought of Athanasius is that, through a real union of Divinity with human nature, salvation is accomplished, in which the Divine life makes possible to extend the natural connection with the whole of humanity—to overcome death and

to raise to immortality. The incarnation is necessary through the need of revelation and of redemption. The Divine life comes into the life of man objectively through the Holy Ghost, and subjectively through faith; that is, the reception of the Lord."

The incarnation was the center of the teaching of Origen, but as a means of relating the Father to the

His Life. creation of the race and the world, and revealing him to man. Athanasius advanced to the incarnation as the essential guarantee of redemption—its central purpose. The work of Athanasius in defense of this doctrine only began with the definition of the Nicæan Council. Athanasius was born at Alexandria about 296. He was trained in Homer, Plato, and logic. He knew thoroughly paganism and Judaism. His chief study was Christian theology. His treatises, "Against the Gentiles" and "On the Incarnation," are remarkable theological essays, especially for a man not more than twenty-two years of age. He was twenty-nine at the Council of Nicæa, and elected Bishop of Alexandria—a position second only to that of Rome—the succeeding year, 326. In November, 330, the Emperor Constantine commanded him to receive Arius back into the Church. From this time his conflicts ceased only with his life. "He was small in stature," says Gregory Nazianzen; "but his face was radiant with intelligence; accessible to all; slow to anger; quick in sympathy, pleasant in conversation, and still more pleasant in temper; effective alike in discourse and in action; assiduous in devotions; helpful to Christians of every class and age." He wrought in his diocese with exemplary fidelity. He ruled as a thorough-

going and successful bishop; but refused to receive Arius into communion with the Church in 331. He was summoned to a Council at Cæsarea in 334, charged with having put a Milesian bishop (Arsenius) to death. The charge was renewed at a Synod at Tyre in 335, where his enemies showed in a box an arm of the murdered Arsenius. "Did any of you know Arsenius?" calmly asked Athanasius. Many voices answered in the affirmative. A hooded figure was led into the midst of the assembly, the covering was removed, and Arsenius stood before them. Commanding him to hold out his hands,—“Did any of you know of Arsenius having three hands?” said Athanasius. His enemies could only raise cries of magic to cover their confusion; nevertheless, they condemned him, and deposed him from his See. Athanasius appealed to the Emperor Constantine. He appeared in person before him in the public street as he was returning on horseback to his palace, and besought his justice. The emperor ordered an investigation. The Arian bishops changed the charge to one of threatening to detain the grain-ships bound for Constantinople, and the emperor's jealousy being aroused, he was banished to Treves, February, 336. He remained there two years and a half. Arius died the same year, and Constantine the Great in May, 337. He was recalled soon after the death of the latter, but did not arrive at Alexandria until November, 338. Constantius, the successor of the first Christian emperor, was an able ruler, and sought to control the policy of the Church as his fathers had done. He was a zealous Arian. A Synod at Antioch, under the control of the Eusebian party, in 340, deposed Atha-

nasius, and elected Gregory of Cappadocia, an Arian, in his stead. Athanasius appealed to Julius, Bishop of Rome, and sailed for Rome at Easter, 340. Another Arian Council at Antioch, 341, renewed the condemnation of Athanasius. In the meanwhile, Julius had called a Council at Rome, which met in October or November, 341. It pronounced Athanasius innocent. He spent the next two years at Rome and Milan. He was present at the end of the year 343, with one hundred and seventy bishops, at the Council of Sardica, where he was again acquitted. Gregory, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, died in February, 345. In 346, Athanasius visited Treves, Adrianople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and returned, after a six years' exile, to Alexandria, October 21, 346. More than four hundred bishops, including those of Britain, were in communion with him. After the death of his brother Constans in 350, and the usurper Magnentius in 353, Constantius was the sole ruler of the Roman Empire. He hated Athanasius with a bitter personal hatred. For ten years Athanasius held his ground at Alexandria, though condemned by Councils at Arles in 353, and Milan in 355. "Finally, on the 8th of February, 356, while he was engaged in service in the Church of St. Theonas, a band of armed men burst into the sacred building. Here, for a time, he maintained his composure, and desired the deacon to read the psalm and the people to respond, 'For his mercy endureth forever,' as the soldiers rushed forward with fierce shouts toward the altar. He at length made his escape in the crowd, and withdrew to the solitudes of Upper Egypt." (*Apology for His Flight*, 24.) George or Cappadocia, a bitter Arian, was sent to supersede

him in Lent, 357. Athanasius spent the next six years in exile among the monks of the Egyptian desert. He admired and promoted monasticism. The monks alone protected him against imperial despotism. The emperor compelled his old friend, the aged Hosius of Cordova, to pronounce against him in 357, and Liberius, Bishop of Rome, in 358, as did the Arian Councils, Ariminum in 359, and Seleucia in 360. Constantius died November 4, 361. The apostate Julian succeeded him. George of Cappadocia was murdered by the pagan party, December 24, 361. Athanasius was recalled by Julian, and returned to Alexandria, February 22, 362. Athanasius was now the greatest person in the Roman world—too eminent as a Christian and a bishop to be left in peace by the pagan Julian. At his command he went into his fourth exile, October 23, 362. On leaving, he said: "Be of good heart; it is but a cloud; it will soon pass." In a few months (June 26, 363), Julian closed his career. In July the undaunted bishop was at Alexandria. In September he sailed for Antioch, to meet the Emperor Jovian. He returned to Alexandria, February, 364. The same year Jovian died, and was succeeded by Valens, a bitter Arian. Athanasius was banished for the last time, October 5, 365. He is said to have lived for many months in his father's tomb, near Alexandria. He returned, February 1, 366, and was undisturbed in his See until his death, May 2, 373, at the age of seventy-seven.

He had been Bishop of Alexandria forty-seven years. Five times banished by four emperors, he had spent twenty years in exile. His
Character.
We can but join in the words of Hooker: "The whole

world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against it; half a hundred years spent in doubtful trial, which of the two in the end should prevail—the side which had all, or else the part which had no friends but God and death—the one a defender of his innocency, the other a finisher of all his troubles?” The greatness of Athanasius rests upon his unshaken adherence to his conception of the Divinity of Christ. Deeply religious; sensitive yet persistent; firm, discreet, and affectionate; moderate when triumphant,—if he sometimes felt and was influenced by the stress of controversy, his life and its results are among the greatest in Christian history.

Men like Origen and Athanasius, like Basil and the two Gregories, declared, defended, and expounded truth amid the warring sects and parties of the Church; but her Councils defined the faith in clear, precise, and unmistakable terms, and yet brief enough to become the easily-remembered Confession of the common people, especially as they became a part of the highly-developed liturgy of the Church.

The Œcumenical Councils of the first six centuries are those of Nicæa, 325; I Constantinople, 381; Œcumenical Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, 451; II Councils. Constantinople, 553. Three of these—Nicæa, I Constantinople, and Chalcedon—formulated creeds for the use of the Church and the defense of the faith. These creeds are remarkable as being expansions or explications of the Apostles' Creed. They are also remarkable for not going beyond the questions then pressing for decision; and in brevity contrast strongly with the later Creeds, like the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Augsburg and Westminster

Confessions. The Councils were called by the emperor, who summoned to them all Christian bishops. These alone, with the emperor or his representative, had voice or vote. Men like Arius or Athanasius could be present as the advisers of the bishops. The Councils not only decided points of doctrine, but determined questions of discipline, usage, authority, and jurisdiction. The conclusions of the Councils on the latter were embodied in articles called canons, or rules.

The Council of Nicæa, the greatest and most important of these assemblies, consisted of three hundred and eighteen bishops. Hosius of Cordova, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Eusebius of Nicomedia were the ablest and most influential of its prelates: Both Arius and Athanasius were in attendance. The Council gave the definition of the Son to the Father, which centered in the word *homoousios*—of the same substance as the Father.

Nicæa.

The Nicæan Creed is as follows:

“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things, visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father [the only begotten—that is, of the essence of the Father—God of God], Light of light, very God of very God; begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made [both in heaven and in earth]; who, for us men and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate, and was made man. He suffered, and the third day he rose again, ascended into heaven; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost.

Nicæan
Creed.

[“ But those who say, ‘ There was a time when he was not ;’ and ‘ He was not before he was made ;’ and ‘ He was made out of nothing ;’ or ‘ He is of another substance ’ or ‘ essence ;’ or ‘ The Son of God is created,’ or ‘ changeable,’ or ‘ alterable ’—they are condemned by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.”]

The Emperor Constantine confirmed the decrees of the Council; but, influenced by Eusebius of Nicomedia, he leaned more and more to the Arian side. Constantius was a Christian from personal conviction, but also a thorough Arian. By him the orthodox were oppressed and banished. Julian the Apostate despised both parties alike. Jovian favored the Creed of Nicæa, but Valens was its bitter opponent. Upon his death, Theodosius came to the throne—a great ruler, a Nicæan Christian, and the friend of Ambrose.

In the East, and among the majority of the theologically-trained bishops, the Creed of Nicæa was not received with favor. They were conservatives, and could not advance beyond the teachings of Origen, while they disliked the terms of the Creed as savoring of Sabellianism. Still less were they inclined to Arianism. That they were finally won to a convinced and reasoned support of the Creed of Nicæa was due to the writings and influence of three men, called the great Cappadocians. Two of them—Basil and Gregory of Nyssa—were brothers; while the third—Gregory of Nazianzen—was their lifelong friend. All three were bishops—Basil of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Sasima, and, for a short time, Patriarch of Constantinople.

Basil, 330–390, was a leader and ruler of men,

founder of flourishing Church institutions, and author of the first great rule of the monastic life. Gregory Nazianzen, preacher and poet, was a voluminous writer; born, 325; Bishop of Sasima, 370; Archbishop of Constantinople for a few months in 381; died, 392. Gregory of Nyssa was born 335, and became Bishop of Nyssa in 371; attended the Council of Constantinople, 381. He died 395. He was the theologian of the age. His "Great Catechism" was the most significant dogmatic work of the fourth century. Through the influence of these men and their teacher, Apollinaris of Laodicea, the one hundred and eighty-six bishops, most of whom were from the East, at the first Council of Constantinople, 381, called by Theodosius, accepted the Nicæan teaching. They further settled the Trinitarian doctrine by more precisely defining the relation of the Father and the Son, and added an article concerning the Holy Ghost. This article condemned the doctrine of Macedonius, who taught that the Holy Spirit is a Divine energy diffused throughout the universe, but not a distinct person in the Trinity.

The Creed of Constantinople is as follows:

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things, visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds' æons; Light of light, very God of very God; begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made; who, for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and

The Three
Cappadocians.

Creed of
Constanti-
nople.

was made man. He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried, and the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; from thence he shall come again with glory, to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, and who, with the Father and the Son together, is worshiped and glorified; who spake by the prophets. In one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen."

Sometimes we wonder if the lost causes, after all, should not secure our suffrage. Some evil things succeed. This is particularly the case if we do not fully enter into or understand the distinctions which divided the Church into parties. It may reassure us to have so eminent a scholar and fair a judge as Professor Harnack declare: "The victory of the Arian doctrine, in all probability, meant the ruin of Christendom. The Arian Christology is the most inwardly empty and dogmatically worthless of all that meet us in the history of doctrine. But it had its mission as a bridge between the half-heathen in the Church and monotheism, and in the early training of the Teutonic races."

CHAPTER IV.

DOCTRINE OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST—CREED OF CHALCEDON. 381-451.

THESE seventy years were those of the overthrow and dissolution of the Roman Empire and society in the West, and, for more than fifty years, of political weakness in the East. During these years Rome was taken by the Goths, North Africa conquered by the Vandals under Genseric, Gaul and Spain conquered by the Franks and Burgundians, while all Middle Europe was ravaged by the Mongol savage Attila.

On the other hand, this was the golden age of Christian theology. The greatest galaxy of Christian writers in the early Church wrought at this time. While the old order changed and the old world died, Christian thought showed a **The Men of the Period.** vigor seldom since surpassed. The greatest men of the former period made this illustrious with their closing labors. Such were the three great Cappadocians—Basil; the two Gregories and their teacher, Apollinaris; with Didymus the Blind, the great teacher of the Catechetical School of Alexandria; and Diodorus, the founder of the great Exegetical School of Antioch. But groups of the ablest Christian teachers came to the ripeness of their powers and the fullness of their labors in these seventy years. Among them were the most famous names of the Christian Church. In the West we find the great Latin fathers, Ambrose,

Jerome, and Augustine; writers like Vincent of Lerins, Sulpicius Severus, and Paulinus of Nola; and Rome's ablest bishops, like Innocent and Leo. In the East, centering about Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Theodoret, the most eloquent preachers and the ablest exegetes of the early Church; and prelates like Nestorius and Ibas of Edessa. With Alexandria as a center, were Isidore of Pelusium and Synesius; Epiphanius, the great detector and preserver of heresy; and the most powerful prelates of the East, its patriarchs, Theophilus, Cyril, and Dioscurus.

The first forty years of this period was an interval of peace between two great controversies—the Trinitarian, under Athanasius, and the Christological, connected with the names of Nestorius and Eutyches. Men began to think how the Son of God and the Son of man are united in Christ. The controversy was started by Nestorius, a native of Syria, and trained in the School of Antioch, who, in 428, had been made Patriarch of Constantinople. Nestorius was a sincere and pious Christian, but with a limited intellectual horizon, and lacking in tact and political foresight. He taught: "The God-Logos-the Divine lived in Jesus as in a temple. God is not born, but man has been born, and suffered; hence Mary can not be called the mother of God. Before the incarnation there was only one nature—the Divine—in Christ; afterward there were two, the Divine and human." Nestorius was in favor with the emperor. At his request, by imperial command, a General or Œcumenical Council was called at Ephesus at Pentecost, 431.

Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, 412-444, was an

able theologian, a powerful, politic, and unscrupulous ruler of the Church. He was jealous of Nestorius because the Patriarch of Constantinople was taken from Antioch instead of Alexandria. Cyril of Alexandria. Cyril condemned his teaching, and accused him of heresy. He won to his side Cœlestine, Bishop of Rome. Menon, Bishop of Ephesus, the seat of the Council, was his friend. Cyril came from Alexandria to Ephesus with a fleet and fifty bishops. About two hundred bishops were present. The bishops from Syria, the supporters of Nestorius, had not arrived, nor the legates from Rome, when the Council began its sessions. The imperial commissaries protested against such precipitate action. Nevertheless, through the influence of Menon and the treachery of John, Patriarch of Antioch, the plans of Cyril were carried out; and these proceedings were afterward sanctioned by the Roman legates. The Council framed no new Creed, but declared that the Creed of Nicæa should be interpreted in the sense of the Alexandrians. The Council condemned and deposed Nestorius. The Emperor Theodosius II was displeased with the Council, and refused to sanction its acts. He exiled both Nestorius and Cyril. The sentence was never taken from Nestorius, who wandered into Arabia and Upper Egypt, and died in banishment, probably about 440. Cyril began negotiations with the court for his restoration. In 433, upon signing a creed drawn up by Theodoret, he was restored to his See and to favor with the emperor, and obtained the recognition of the acts of the Council of Ephesus. Alexandria now became the supreme power in the Eastern Church. Cyril died in 444. His successor,

Dioscurus, was passionate and violent, where he had been prudent and strong.

Eutyches, the aged Archimandrite, or head, of a monastery near Constantinople in 448, was accused of heresy by Eusebius of Dorylæum. In sermons,

Eutyches. Eutyches had taught, "My God Jesus

Christ is not like me in nature. He has not taken the human body, but a body like the human; that is, not an individual body, but a body which is a compendium of human nature. He had not a personal humanity. The human to the Divine in Christ is like a drop of water in the ocean. Before the incarnation there were two natures, the human and the Divine in Christ; since, but one, the Divine." The accusation was tried before Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople. Eutyches was condemned; but being favored by the empress, he appealed to a General Council.

Dioscurus, who was all-powerful with the emperor, urged the calling of such an assembly. He sought three things—the adoption of the view of the Alexandrian party; the deposition of all bishops who had written against the one nature in Christ; and the depression in rank of the Bishop of Rome, who had opposed him, beneath the Eastern patriarchs. Dioscurus opened the assembly, 135 bishops being present, in August, 449, at Ephesus. Eutyches was restored without even according a hearing to his accuser. Flavian, Eusebius, and a long list of bishops were deposed, and Rome was placed below the Oriental patriarchs. When one or two bishops endeavored to oppose these proceedings, Dioscurus called soldiers and monks into the assembly. "Cut those in two who

speak of two natures,' was the cry." Flavian was grossly ill used, taken into exile, and died in a few days while on the journey. The Roman legates escaped by flight. This Council was called the Robber Synod, from these violent proceedings, and its acts annulled.

In 450, Theodosius II died, and was succeeded by his sister, Pulcheria, who raised her husband, the Senator Marcian, an able ruler, to the throne. In order to put an end to these destructive divisions, and to curb the ambition and usurpation of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Marcian summoned the fourth and greatest **Council of Chalcedon.** Œcumenical Council to meet in September, 451, at Chalcedon. Six hundred and thirty Eastern bishops and four legates from Leo I of Rome were present. The devastations of Attila prevented the attendance of Western bishops. Rome, which had been in alliance with Alexandria for one hundred years, now came to a union with the emperor against the pride and violence of Dioscurus, the head of the Church State of Alexandria. Leo, the Bishop of Rome, was then the greatest man living. At the Council the Alexandrian watchword was, "Out of two natures, one Christ;" that of Antioch, "In two natures, one Christ;" the decision of the Council, "Two natures in one person." The Council reinstated the bishops deposed at Ephesus. Dioscurus was deposed, not for heresy, but for violence and irregularity. The orthodoxy of both Cyril and Theodoret was affirmed. The Creed adopted was mainly derived from Leo's letter to Flavian in 449. Its twenty-eighth canon gave equal dignity to the See of Constantinople with that of

Rome. Canon Gore admirably sums up the issues and value of this controversy:

"Another danger threatened the Church. Nestorius denied that the babe on Mary's knees was God. The new error necessitated a new dogma. The Christian knew that, in worshiping Christ, God and man, he was worshiping, not two persons, but one, and that one the Eternal Son, who was born of Mary. He, then, that denied that Mary's child was God, denied either that it was indeed God who had taken flesh, or that it was indeed flesh that he had taken. Christ was one person, and that person Divine. For this truth Eutyches had fought: Christ is one; he is Divine. But having but one idea, and that to oppose Nestorianism, he lost, in the assertion of the unity and Divinity of Christ's person, all sense of the counter truth which alone gives reality to the incarnation, the truth of his humanity.

"Eutyches refused to say that the human nature remained in the incarnation. He shrank from calling Christ 'of one substance' with us men. In some sort of way he left us to suppose that the human nature was absorbed into and lost in the Divinity. The Church's instinct was sound when it condemned in Eutyches the merging or annihilation of the human nature. The whole doctrine of our salvation depends on Christ being of one substance with us. He did not merely touch our nature as from the outside, and, by touching, transmit it into something else; he took it in all its parts—body, soul, and spirit—with all its feelings, wants, instincts, powers, temptations, weaknesses; sin only excepted. He took it all; he *is* it,

and he is it forever. The whole doctrine of the second Adam centers in this. No assuming of the appearance of man, of the clothing of mere human flesh, will avail anything; Christ is the second Adam, the new man, the first parent of a restored human nature. The whole value of the atoning sacrifice depends on this, that it was Man who offered himself in that human nature, that in us had sinned. The whole meaning of the ascension is lost if it is not our human nature which is exalted to God's right hand."

The following is the Creed of Chalcedon:

"We, then, following the holy fathers, all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead, and also perfect in manhood; truly Creed of Chalcedon. God and truly man, of a reasonable [rational] soul and body; consubstantial [co-essential] with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like unto us, without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days for us and for our salvation; born of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, according to the manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one Person and one Substance; not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, and Only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; as the prophets from the beginning have declared concern-

ing him, and the Lord Jesus Christ himself has taught us, and the Creed of the holy fathers has handed down to us."

The definition of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ was completed at the third Council of Constantinople in 681, where the relation of the human and Divine wills is clearly stated. Henceforth the doctrine of the Church concerning our Lord is that he is of one substance with the Father, of two natures in one person, with two wills.

The Council of Chalcedon inflicted irreparable injury upon the Eastern Empire. The Roman definition was unpopular. Riots and long continued disturbances followed the conclusion of the Council in Palestine and Egypt. It resulted in the loss of the Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian Churches from the communion of the Greek Church. It weakened the allegiance of these populations to the Imperial Government. The great Sees of Antioch and Alexandria and their influence fell away from the Church and Government at Constantinople. Instead of a united Christianity in the East, there was formed a Coptic Church in Egypt; the Syrians became Monophysites through the unwearied labors of Jacob Baradeus from after 541; and hence they were called Jacobites. The Nestorians were as far from being reconciled as ever. The Armenians retained the Creed of Cyril, but rejected Chalcedon. The work of the Council was regarded as the carrying out of the imperial program. All the Churches which were not Greek in race or speech separated from the Catholic Church. The result was more owing to race and national differences than to

theological distinctions. The emperors tried for one hundred and fifty years to heal these dissensions, but failed. Justinian called a General Council, the second of Constantinople, in 553, to interpret the Creed of Chalcedon in a Monophysite sense. At his desire, it condemned Origen and three of the early opponents of the Monophysite doctrine—Theodore, Diodorus, and Ibas. These efforts were unavailing. This age-long and widespread disaffection toward the Church and Empire was one potent cause of the rapid Mohammedan conquests of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. After 1,400 years, these Oriental Churches present a divided and degraded Christianity to the Moslem population and governments under whom they have been in subjection and contempt for twelve centuries.

CHAPTER V.

THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY — DOCTRINE OF HUMAN SIN AND REDEMPTION.

THE chief figure in the Pelagian controversy was Aurelius Augustinus, the greatest of the Latin fathers, whose views on anthropology have profoundly affected the theology of Christendom until this day.

St. Augustine was born at Tagaste, in Numidia, North Africa—present Algiers—November 13, 354.

**St. August-
tine.**

His Life.

His father, Patricius, was a burgess of the town, and was still a pagan at the birth of his son. He was a man of vehement and sensual disposition, but afterward became a Christian. His mother, Monica, was a Christian, and a woman of piety, who took care to have her son instructed in the true faith, and placed among the catechumens; yet, notwithstanding all his mother's admonitions and prayers, he grew up without any profession of Christian piety or any devotion to Christian principles. His father was greatly interested in his education. He was sent first to Madura, and afterward, when seventeen years of age, to Carthage, to learn rhetoric. In his nineteenth year he read Cicero's "Hortensius," and eagerly engaged in philosophical studies. In 383 he left Carthage for Rome. His stay of twelve years at Carthage—from his seventeenth to his twenty-ninth year—was remarkable for two phases of his experience, which color all his after life and thought. Carthage was a most immoral city. Led on by his pas-

sions, Augustine plunged into the profligate life of the time. He formed an illicit connection—common enough in that society—and had a natural son born to him, whom he greatly loved, and named Adeodatus. Wearied and disgusted with a sensual life, he took refuge with the Manichæans, whose dualistic principles, especially the essentially evil nature of matter, harmonized with his struggles and feelings. He went to Rome a Manichæan, and lodged with one of the sect; but meeting Faustus, their great leader, he was greatly disappointed in his converse with him. While he was teaching in Rome, Milan wished for a professor of rhetoric. He was sent by Symmachus, the præfect of Rome, to fill the place. At Milan he made the acquaintance of the great Ambrose, who received him “like a father.” He went to hear him, “trying to discover if his eloquence came up to the fame thereof.” At last he was fully convinced of his Manichæan errors, but far from a Christian.

He has left an account of his conversion (*Confessions*, 8, 13; *P. N. F.*, Vol. I, p. 127): “I flung myself down—how, I know not—under a certain fig-tree, giving free course to my Conversion. tears, and the streams of mine eyes gushed out—an acceptable sacrifice unto Thee. And, not indeed in these words, but to this effect, spake I much unto Thee, ‘But Thou, O Lord, how long? How long, Lord? Wilt Thou be angry forever? O, remember not against us former iniquities!’ for I felt that I was enthralled by them. I sent up these sorrowful cries: ‘How long, how long? To-morrow, and to-morrow? Why not now? Why is there not, this hour, an end to my uncleanness?’ I was saying these things, and

weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, lo! I heard the voice as of a boy or girl—I know not which—coming from a neighboring house, chanting and oft-repeating: ‘Take up and read!’ ‘Take up and read!’ Immediately my countenance was changed, and I began more earnestly to consider whether it was usual for children, in any kind of game, to sing such words; nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So, restraining the torrent of my tears, I rose up, interpreting it in no other way than as a command to me from heaven to open the book, and to read the first chapter I should light upon. . . . So I quickly returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I put down the volume of the apostles when I rose thence. I grasped, opened, and in silence read that paragraph on which my eyes first fell: ‘Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof.’ No further would I read, nor did I need; for instantly, as the sentence ended—by a light, as it were, of security infused into my heart—all the gloom of doubt vanished away.”

He was then thirty-two years of age. He pursued a course of instruction for baptism, and that rite was administered to him and his son by Ambrose, at Easter, 387. He gave up his profession as a teacher, and left Milan. His mother—the saintly Monica—died at Ostia as he was about to sail for Africa. In the same year he entered a community of monks, living by rule, in his native city. There he lived in retirement for about three years. In 391 he visited

Hippo—now Bona—when he was forced, by the acclamations of the people, to be ordained presbyter, at the age of thirty-seven. Four years later he was ordained coadjutor bishop with Valerius; and on the death of the latter, 396, succeeded him in his See. From his forty-first year until his death—thirty-four years—he faithfully performed the duties of a bishop in the early Church. While living in community with his clergy, and conscientious in the performance of the duties of his office, it largely directed his literary labors. The bishop was the defense of the Church against heresy. Hence, from the practical side of his work came the incitement which made his writings so largely controversial. He wrote his "Confessions" in 397; carried on his controversy with the Manichæans from 395 to 400; with the Donatists, from 400 to 415; the Pelagian, from 412 to 428. His great apology for the faith, the "City of God," was written 413-426. His most finished doctrinal work, on the "Holy Trinity," occupied him nearly thirty years, from 400 to 428.

In 429, the Vandals, under Genseric, invaded Africa, carrying ruin and devastation with them. Genseric, in 430, besieged Hippo. Augustine was seized with a fatal illness. Surrounded by the sufferings and sorrows of a doomed city and a dying race, in the third month of the siege, after seventy-five years of conflict, this strong warrior soul passed from the city of defeat and death to the city of God, August 28, 430.

Pelagius was a British monk, of whose early life nothing is known. He came to Rome Pelagian Controversy. about 400. He was pious, of agreeable address, and had an earnest, moral aim. He was scan-

dalized at the evil lives of the Roman clergy. When he rebuked them, they replied that "Augustine taught that 'to do good is God's gift,' and he had not given them that gift." Pelagius taught that God required nothing impossible of men; and that no ascetic exercise annuls the duty of watching and conquering self.

The chief points of difference are the following:

PELAGIUS HELD:

Sin is not in the nature, but in the will. Physical death is natural, not the result of sin. Adam's sin has not injured his descendants. There is no original sin.

A sinless life, led by man's own power, is not absolutely impossible. The free will can always act against sin at the decisive moment.

All children are born in the state of Adam's innocence. Children dying unbaptized go to heaven. Infant baptism is a consecration.

AUGUSTINE HELD:

In Adam's sin, all his descendants are involved as sinful, corrupted, and guilty. Every man is in original sin.

We live only by the grace of Christ, and that grace is active, effective, and irresistible.

This grace is bound up with baptism; so that unbaptized heathen, and children dying unbaptized, are shut out of heaven. Infant baptism is for the remission of sin.

Semi-Pelagianism arose in the monasteries of Southern France from the rejection of the extreme opinions of Augustine in regard to grace and free-will. Its characteristic teaching was that grace and free-will work together in human salvation. Some held that free-will began the work of salvation, and was supplemented by grace; and others that grace began the work, and was enforced

by free-will. John Cassianus, their greatest leader, taught that grace is necessary to every man, but free-will works with grace.

Pelagius met Augustine in 411, and then went to Palestine; and so far as we know, he spent the remainder of his life in the East. Augustine, feeling that Pelagian doctrines were the essence of what is Antichristian, wrote against him. A scholar *Course of the* of Augustine, Orosius, went to Palestine, *Controversy.* and, with Jerome, accused Pelagius at the Synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis, 415. At both he was acquitted. He was condemned by two North African Synods, 416. Both parties appealed to Pope Innocent I. He was on both sides, but finally inclined to the African bishops. Pelagius's Confession of Faith, directed to him, did not arrive at Rome until after Innocent's death in 417. His successor, Zosimus, expressly recognized the orthodoxy of Pelagius, 418. In the same year the Synod of Carthage condemned Pelagius, and his opponents obtained a rescript from the Emperor Honorius, April 30, 418. Then Pope Zosimus pronounced on that side. Pelagius was condemned, with Nestorius, by the Council of Ephesus, in 431. The small Synods of Orange and Valence, in 529, decided in favor of Augustinian teaching as against both Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism. Gregory the Great, 590-604, adopted a modified Augustinianism, which ruled through the Middle Ages. We must admit the truth of the deeper views of sin and grace as taught by Augustine; but all Protestants reject his teaching that saving grace is bound to the sacrament of baptism; and all who are not predestinarians deny that grace is irresistible.

The peculiar doctrines of Augustine are in relation to the effects of Adam's sin, original sin, the election of grace, and predestination. These **Augustinian Teaching.** are important from their wide and long-enduring influence, and can best be given in his own words.

"Nevertheless, that one sin, admitted into a place where such perfect happiness reigned, was of so heinous a character that in one man the **The Fall.** whole human race was originally, and, as one may say, radically condemned; and it can not be pardoned and blotted out except through the one Mediator between God and men—the man Christ Jesus, who only has had power to be so born as not to need a second birth." (Enchiridion, 48, p. 253.)

"Hence, the whole mass of the human race is condemned; for he who at first gave entrance to sin has been punished, with all his posterity, who **Original Sin—** were in him as in a root, so that no one **Universal** were exempt from this just and due punishment, unless delivered by mercy and undeserved grace; and the human race is so **Guilt. Con-** apportioned that in some is displayed the efficacy of merciful grace; in the rest, the efficacy of just retri- **demnation of** bution. For both could not be displayed in all; for if all had remained under the punishment of just **the Non-** condemnation, there would have been seen in no one **elect.** the mercy of redeeming grace. And, on the other hand, if all had been transformed from darkness to light, the severity of retribution would have been manifest in none. But many more are left under punishment than are delivered from it, in order that it may thus be shown what was due to all. And had it

been inflicted on all, no one could justly have found fault with the justice of Him who taketh vengeance; whereas, in the deliverance of so many from that just award, there is cause to render the most cordial thanks to the gratuitous bounty of Him who delivers." (De Civitate Dei, XXI, xii, p. 463.)

"And, consequently, both those who have not heard the gospel, and those who, having heard it and been changed by it for the better, have not received perseverance; and those who, having heard the gospel, have refused to come to Christ—that is, to believe on him—since he himself says, 'No man cometh unto me, except it were given him of my Father;' and those who, by their tender age, were unable to believe, but might be absolved from original sin by the sole laver of regeneration, and yet have not received this laver, and have perished in death,—are not made to differ from that lump which it is plain is condemned, as all go from one [Adam] into condemnation. Some are made to differ, however—not by their own merits, but by the grace of the Mediator; that is to say, they are justified freely in the blood of the second Adam. Therefore, when we hear, 'For who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou hast not received? Now, if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?' (1 Cor. iv, 7)—we ought to understand that, from that mass of perdition which originated through the first Adam, no one can be made to differ except he who has this gift, which whosoever has, has received by the grace of the Savior." (De Correptione et Gratia, Vol. V, ch. xii, p. 476.)

The Mass
of the
Non-elect.

“Those, then, are elected, as has often been said, who are called according to the purpose, who also are predestinated and foreknown. If any one of these perishes, God is mistaken; but none of them perishes, because God is not mistaken. If any one of these perishes, God is overcome by human sin; but none of them perishes, because God is overcome by nothing.” (*De Correptione et Gratia*, Vol. V, ch. xiv, p. 477.)

These peculiar doctrines of Augustine widely and deeply influenced his own age. They were the result of his thinking and experience, but were elaborated in his controversies with the Manichæans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians. They powerfully influenced modern Christendom. They ruled the thinking of the Middle Ages and the teaching of Calvin, Luther, the English Puritans, and their ecclesiastical descendants. For fourteen centuries he has been the leading theological teacher of Western Christendom. Beginning with Arminius and Wesley, the reaction against his opinions has become general in this century.

Augustine, to the grief of Christendom, was not a scholar, nor was he a broad, constructive, or sympathetic theologian. He was a powerful and original, though not a consistent or comprehensive thinker. His central thought is the doctrine of sin; his chief excellence, the exaltation of grace. He brought religion out of philosophic cosmology, and worship into the sphere of the innermost life of the soul. His chief teaching may be grouped about the three ideas—the Church, predestination, and the evangelical faith.

According to Augustine, the Holy Spirit is bound to the Church, so that the Church is the necessary means of salvation. The Holy Spirit is infallibly communicated through the sacrament of ordination, by which an indelible character **The Church.** is imparted to the recipient, and the priest is separated from the laity as the one through whom the grace of God is conveyed to men, and the holy sacrifice of the Eucharist offered to God. Thus unbaptized children are forever unsaved; marriage must become a sacrament, so as to be consecrated by the Church; property is consecrated by alms; the Church should direct all science; and the State is only valuable when it places its means at the service of the Church. In these positions, Augustine is the father of Roman Catholicism, of the duty of religious persecution, and of those ideas of Church authority and the necessity of priestly sacrifice which are contradicted by the whole history of the Protestant Churches.

Predestination has been so fully treated in the extracts that only the briefest characterization is attempted here. The aim of Augustine's teaching is union with God. Sin is separation from **Predestination.** God, self willing to be independent, the proud thought of the heart. Sin brings unrest; only God can give rest. This is brought to men in communion with God through grace, which irresistibly seizes us and gives us a new being. Grace is conceived as coming from the absolute decree of God before all time; so that the saved are sons of God before their birth, their faith in Christ, or any connection with the means of grace. It is conceived as flowing, independently of Christ or his work, out of

the being of God. Every process of the earthly or individual life, or of collective history, is only an appearance; in reality, it occurred before all time in the counsels of God. From this results a conception of God which contradicts the most evident ethical principles. Augustine never fully overcame his Manichæism. There is a persistent dualism running through his whole scheme of thought. The devil and his kingdom forever rival, if they do not endanger, the supremacy of God.

Grace which brings salvation is given on account of Christ, his sufferings, and his cross. "And thus he appears for us as our head, himself the fount of grace." The just shall live by faith, is a new thought from the Holy Scriptures. These Scriptures were the foundation of Augustine's thinking. He lived in them. They were the source of the faith by which we are saved. In his love and use of the Bible and treatment of traditions outside of it, he laid down positions held by the Protestant Churches. In his fundamental conviction, "For me to cleave to God is good;" and that God is in us to create faith and good works, bringing the human soul into immediate connection and dealing with God; and in the rejection of all human merit or good works as procuring salvation; but that it is of God's grace alone,—he does away with all Church or priestly mediation, and prepares the way for the Reformation.

These are his main, but not only, contradictions. They arise from the cast of his mind, more acute and profound than comprehensive; from his lack of broad culture, his practical aim, and the exigencies of controversy. The ground of his central teaching con-

cerning original sin seems to have been suggested to him from the practice of infant baptism as of use in the controversy with Pelagius. The teaching concerning the priesthood and the Church was developed in the Donatist controversy. Augustine, with all his writings, prepared no work which will compare with Origen's "*De Principiis*." Perhaps his greatest error, and the one from which Christendom has suffered longest, is that of confining the work of the Holy Ghost to those who are in communion with the Catholic Church. The recognition of the larger mission of the Holy Spirit is the prerequisite to success in the work of Christian missions, and the fundamental condition of the reunion of Christendom.

Professor Harnack has called Augustine the Reformer of Christian Piety. It is this aspect of his work which commends him to us, in spite of contradictions and unworthy conceptions of God and man. For Augustine, Christianity was not a higher knowledge; with him there were no differing classes of Christians according to intellectual capacity. He taught that, "not what one knew or said decided, but what one loved; for when it is asked whether any one be a good man, it is not asked what he believes and rightly hopes, but what he loves. For he who loves rightly, without doubt rightly believes and rightly hopes; but he who loves not, believes in vain. Little love is little righteousness; great love is great righteousness; perfect love is perfect righteousness."

Through love in humility, we renounce self and lust, and receive God and his law; the peace of God is poured into the soul; the living God is its Friend. So he taught, in his "*City of God*," that the historical

development was to end in perfection through the Divine education of the race. Augustine was a man of high-souled courage; he loved God; he was fearlessly truthful and honest. His works have been the support of all truth-loving souls from Luther and Calvin to the Jansenist of Port Royal and to Döllinger and the opponents of the Vatican decrees of our own day. His character and personality gave weight to his words through the ages, and is well outlined in our closing extract:

“O how wonderful, how beautiful and lovely are the dwellings of thy house, Almighty God! . . .
 O Jerusalem, holy city of God, dear bride of Christ,
Augustine's my heart loves thee; my soul has already
Meditations. long sighed for thy beauty! The King of kings himself is in the midst of thee, and his children are within thy walls. There are the hymning choirs of angels, the fellowship of heavenly citizens. There is the wedding-feast of all who, from this sad, earthly pilgrimage, have reached thy joys. There is the far-seeing choir of the prophets; there the company of the twelve apostles; there the triumphant army of innumerable martyrs and holy confessors. Full and perfect love there reigns; for God is all in all. They love and praise; they praise and love him for evermore. Blessed, perfectly and forever blessed, shall I too be, if, when my poor body shall be dissolved, . . .
 I may stand before my King and God, and see him in his glory, as he himself hath deigned to promise. ‘Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which I had with thee before the world was.’” (P. N. F., Vol. I, p. 6.)

Part Third.

THE RULERS IN THE NEW WORLD.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

OUR Lord left no command on the subject of Church government, and no ideal constitution for the societies gathered in his name. He gave, as the principle of their being and organization, a love like his own, and a spiritual headship never vacant or changed, because held by himself, and manifest and ministered by the Holy Ghost. This makes legitimate all forms of Church rule and authority which do not violate these two fundamental principles of the Redeemer's reign in his kingdom.

The Church was an assembly of all baptized believers. All had, or were supposed to possess, the Holy Spirit. They controlled their affairs in a democratic, congregational manner, and the spiritual motive predominated.

**The Apostolic
Church.
Apostles.**

The apostles were those to whom they owed their founding and first hearing of the gospel. They were not necessarily of the twelve, but, both in their time and later, of those who had not seen the Lord, being traveling teachers or evangelists, who had given up whatever property they possessed to the poor, and went everywhere preaching the word. They are mentioned in the Acts xiii, 1; 1 Cor. xii, 28; Eph. iv, 11; and the "Teaching of the Twelve." The nearest modern example would be the itinerant founders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.

The prophets were sometimes traveling teachers, like the apostles, as we see in the "Teaching of the Twelve," and in the "Shepherd" of Her-
Prophets. mas; and sometimes settled, as seem to have been Agabus and the daughters of Philip. The distinctive feature of their office was that they gave the word of the Lord. They were held in high honor, and judged as true or false by the test of their lives. They offered prayers at the communion, and received of the gifts then offered.

The teachers were men like Apollos, or assistants of the apostles, like Timothy, or Titus, or Silvanus.

Teachers. They taught the teaching necessary for the congregation and suggested by the Spirit. They taught of faith, love, and wisdom. Prophets and teachers are grouped together, as at Antioch—Barnabas and Simeon, Lucius and Manaen. In addition, there were those specially endowed with gifts, by the Spirit, of government or ministration to the needs of the poor, the sick, or of the Church. These were all spiritual gifts to a person, and not to an office.

But the leadership of the Church was not left entirely to these personal endowments, of which it might be deprived by death or removal.

Church Officers. A certain position was given to men who were first converted, and had and maintained influence in the Church, such as Stephanas, at Corinth. Men were chosen to an official position in the early societies, having recognized duties and responsibilities. Such was the choice of the deacons recorded in the sixth chapter of Acts. So Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every Church they founded in Asia Minor, on their first missionary journey. So Titus

was exhorted to ordain elders in the Churches in Crete. So Paul writes to the bishops and deacons of the Church at Philippi, and calls to him the elders of the Church at Ephesus. And we find, early in his ministry, in the Church at Jerusalem, at the Apostolic Council, 55, the apostles and elders; so, also, 1 Pet. v, 1.

These official terms, bishops and elders, or presbyters, seem to be used interchangeably, and their offices were of equal rank and dignity during the first hundred years of the Christian Church. Compare Titus i, 5 and i, 7; 1 Tim. v, 17-19, with iii, 1 and iv, 14; Acts xx, 17 with xx, 28; so, also, the epistle of Clement, 96, and "The Shepherd" of Hermas, 130, shown, also, by the language of Irenæus, 177-202, and Clement of Alexandria, 190-220. The apostles living and teaching in communities of Jews and Gentiles conformed the organization of the Churches more or less to the social forms with which they were familiar. There was no idea of establishing an exact pattern of Church government, to be closely copied during the Christian ages. This is clearly seen when we consider the apostolate, the foremost ecclesiastical office in their time. They made no provision for its continuance after their death. The apostolic fathers knew nothing of an apostolic succession of bishops. Hence, whatever shape Christian truth, Christian love, and the necessities and circumstances of the time, under the guidance of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, gave to the organization and polity of the Church, was both legitimate and providential.

This organization was, at the first, of the simplest kind. Following the forms of the organization known to the Synagogue, as far as these were suited to a

Christian assembly, the first officers of the infant Church, after the apostles, were deacons and presbyters, or elders. It is significant that the deacons,

cons, the first Church officers chosen, were destined to an office which had developed through the exigencies and increase of the work, and was wholly original, but has continued through all forms of Church organization, and through all ages to our time. The deacons were chosen at first to relieve the apostles from the care of temporal concerns, and to minister to the sick, the poor, the widows, and later, the martyrs, and any needing help. In the early Church, the ministry was to the temporal necessities of the faithful, and the first officers chosen by the Church were for this service. Though two of the original seven were preachers of the word, this ministry seems not to have belonged to their office. Their character and demeanor were to be such as becomes representative men in the Christian society, holding positions of responsibility in respect both to the Church and to the world. In time, they became the ministers or deputies of the bishops in their administration of the increasing temporalities of the Church, and assistants of the presbyters in the administration of the sacrament of baptism and of the Lord's Supper. When men of signal ability, they became assistants of presbyters and bishops at the Diocesan, Provincial, and even Œcumenical Councils. Long before 400, the office became a recognized step toward the priesthood. And yet, though this office is found in almost all forms of Church-life, still, in none of them do its original duties form the main functions of the officers who bear its name. In the

Greek, Roman Catholic, and Episcopal Protestant Churches, it is a lower step to the priesthood or eldership, and its duties are confined to assisting the officiating ministers in the sacraments. In the Churches of the Presbyterian and Congregational polity, the main duty of the deacons is to look after the temporal and spiritual condition and current expenses of the Church. If the sick and poor come under their charge, it is only an incident, and not the main concern of the office.

Indeed, the original idea in its purity seems only to be realized in the revived office of deaconess. Their work and ministry were known and praised in the Apostolic Church, and mentioned by heathen enemies in the beginning of the second century. From the second to the third century, the office became inferior to that of the widows of the Church, who discharged most of their peculiar duties. In the Greek Church, it was revived in the fourth century. In the Roman Church, it gave way finally to the female monastic orders. It was revived in Germany, England, and America, in this century, for the accomplishment of a work long neglected in Protestantism. The crying need, especially in our large centers of population, is for a revival of the primitive office of deacon, and the congregational care of the sick, destitute, widow, the orphan, and the aged.

Deaconesses.

The word presbyter is the Greek word for senior, or elder. From it come our words priest and Presbyterian, Presbytery, etc. Its nearest English equivalent is elder, and it is so translated in our version of the New Testament. To the Christian presbyter were given the functions and du-

Presbyters.

ties which were confided to the elders in the Jewish synagogue. The Jewish elders formed a court, which administered discipline in their community and assembly. There is little doubt that Christian presbyters or elders were at first disciplinary officers, who looked after the morals and behavior of the society. The presbyters condemned to ecclesiastical censure, and deprived of communion, or assigned other forms of discipline or penance. They also pronounced the penitent absolved, and restored to the communion of the Church. The communities in which the founder, or predominant element, was Jewish, had elders. The Church at Jerusalem had elders, but also a lengthened presidency of James, the brother of our Lord. The Churches at Ephesus had elders; but St. John long presided over them. So the Church at Antioch had elders; but Ignatius was their bishop. The administration of the Eucharist and the benediction were deemed inherent in the office of presbyter; but all presbyters were not originally preachers, though teaching from the Scriptures came to be their recognized work, especially in the East. While the Churches of Jewish origin had elders, the Churches of Gentile stock had bishops—probably conforming to the title and office of the mutual relief and burial clubs of that time. The presbyterate has suffered no such transformation as the diaconate and episcopacy. It is now, as it has been through the ages, the great office of the Christian ministry through which the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments, and the care of souls has been, and is now, ministered to millions of believers. Through the presbyterate, as by no other means, the love, word, and

sacraments of our Lord come to the hearts and family life of Christians. A Church could exist without bishops and without deacons; but without the discharge of the duties which fall to the office of the Christian presbyter, it could have no organized life. The piety, devotion, ability, and character of the presbyterate has, in every generation, been the surest test of the spiritual condition and the effective work of the Christian Church.

In the Gentile communities, the bishop was largely a financial as well as a disciplinary officer. Representing the Church, he seems to have had charge of the funds which were ministered by the deacons to the sick and the poor. In this way Bishops. he became responsible, not only for the contributions for current expenses, but also for the money or real estate given to the Christian community by bequest or deed of gift. As he had charge of the financial resources of the Church, and presided over the congregation, as the presbyter in Churches of Jewish origin, he must have kept the canon, or catalogue, or list of members. This being in his custody, he alone could tell who were worthy of letters of Christian commendation, and of the alms and temporal care of the Church. Thus, when heresies were rife, the bishop was the depositary of the apostolic tradition of the faith; and he applied the standard to all members of the Church, especially to those receiving her aid. Not only so, but he was the recognized defender of the faith against the heretics; and through his ability in controversy and his government, he was the great bond of the unity of the Church and the guard of its purity both in faith and morals.

Hence he became more and more a preacher of Christian truth and the representative of the Christian community.

In the intercourse of the Churches with each other, the presbyterate would extend to the Gentile Churches, as no one man, and hence no bishop, could perform the duties which devolved upon the presbyters; hence they formed the council of the bishop in cases of discipline and administration, dispensing the sacraments, and teaching under commission of the bishop. How did Churches originally having elders come to have bishops? In various ways in different places. In some places, apostolic residence—as at Jerusalem or Ephesus, and possibly Peter at Antioch—gave a permanent presidency to the College of Presbyters. This continued in Palestine until 200. In other places, “the College of Presbyters would tend to choose, for the performance or superintendence of any action resolved upon, one of their number, who would be the episcopos for the occasion. If of proved fitness for executive duties, he would be often chosen, and tend to become permanent. His authority was long a delegated one, and his influence dependent mainly on his personal qualities.”

The bishop was in the beginning but the first among equals, and then president of the presbyters for purposes of discipline. The worship of the Church demanded a leader, a single individual. The intercourse between the Churches demanded a representative man in each. From 125 to 200, the bishops increased in power through the conflict with the Gnostic heresies and Montanism. In Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa, there was a bishop in every

small town; in Pontus, Gaul, and later in Upper Italy, they were only in the chief cities; in the time of Irenæus, only one bishop was in Gaul, at Lyons. By 170, each individual community was ruled by a gradation of officials, at whose head was the bishop; and the bishop represented the community.

In regard to apostolic succession in this age, Professor Ramsay says: "The theories of the functions of the episcopate and its relations to the community varied with the lapse of time. In Ignatius, the Clementines, and the Apostolic Constitution, 115-260, the bishop stood in the place of the unseen Lord, intrusted with the oversight of his Master's household until he should return. Later it came to be a not unnatural inference, from the belief that the bishop was the custodian and conservator of apostolic teaching, that he, rather than the presbyters, took the apostolic place. The bishops had succeeded the apostles in the presidency of several of the Churches by a delegated vicarious ordination."

CHAPTER II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EPISCOPATE.

THE great feature of the Church organization of this period, 170-600, was the increase in the power and authority of the Christian bishop. It is difficult to conceive how the Church could have maintained herself against the manifold heresies and divisions of the century between 150 and 250, without the strong and centralized government of the episcopate. This also formed so firm a bond of union and government that the organization of the Church was stronger than that of the Roman Empire, as experience taught Decius and Diocletian. The development of a fixed and controlling executive power like the episcopate seems to have been an historic necessity. The office drew to it, for the service of the Church, the greatest men of the time. In persecution, they were the first selected for the attack. They nobly stood the test of martyrdom; as witness Symeon and Alexander of Jerusalem, Ignatius and Babylas of Antioch, Fabianus and Sixtus of Rome, Cyprian of Carthage, Pothinus of Lyons, and Methodius of Tyre, to take only the most noted. They were among the first missionaries to the barbarians, as Ulfilas to the Goths and St. Martin of Tours to the Franks. Indeed, in any list of the great men of this time, confined even to teachers and writers, the larger and more influential part would be found in the ranks of the episcopate. Such were Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine,

Cyprian, and Eusebius of Cæsarea. To them fell the task of preserving and transmitting the laws and culture of the old civilization to their Frankish conquerors, a task which later came to the monasteries.

At the beginning of this period the presbyters formed with the bishops a college or board, like a Board of Trustees, for the charge of the different administrative duties. The bishop regarded himself as fellow-presbyter and priest with them, only that he had precedence in rank. They often formed an aristocratic party, in opposition to the bishop. The deacons were subordinate to them, as they could not administer the Lord's Supper, which was the function of the presbyters.

The defense against heresy increased the authority of the bishop and the respect of the office. Irenæus taught that neither Apostolic Churches nor the scholars of the apostles can assure the truth against human weakness of remembrance and subjective influence. But God assures the truth through the bishops, who, in virtue of their office, have a gift of the Holy Ghost, and take the place of the apostles and prophets. The gift is such that in the apostolic office of bishop lies the assurance of apostolic truth. The bishop is the heir of the spiritual gifts of the early Church, and, through the succession of bishops, is the continuance of the authority of the apostolate in the Church. This is the germ of the theory of apostolic succession; and in 190 this view finds its earliest expression. Its farther development is thus sketched by Professor Ramsay: "When discipline as well as doctrine centered in the bishops, it began to be argued that they

**Defense
against
Heresy
and the
Apostolic
Succession.**

had succeeded, not only to the seats which the apostles filled, but also to the powers which they possessed. It began to be urged that the powers, especially of binding and loosing, which the Lord had conferred on the apostles, were given them, not personally, or as constituting the Church of the time, but in representative capacity, as the first members of a long line of Church officers. Against an early assertion of this view, Tertullian raised a vigorous protest; nor did the view win its way to general acceptance until the time of the great Latin theologians of the fifth century, 410-440. It was a still later development of this view to maintain that the bishops had also succeeded to the power of the apostles in the conferring of spiritual gifts, and that through them, and through them exclusively, did it please the Holy Spirit to enter into the souls of either individual Christians in baptism, or of Church officers in ordination. It was received as a doctrine by the Council of Paris, 829, and passed into the ordinals, or ritual for ordination."

The man whose writings and influence affected the doctrines of the Church and the development of the episcopacy more than any other one man in this

Cyprian or any other period of the history of the Church, was Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus. He was born at Carthage, about 200. Of patrician family, and highly educated, he had either inherited or acquired considerable wealth. For some time he was occupied as a teacher of rhetoric. Enthusiastic in his temperament, accomplished in classical literature and rhetorical art, while a pagan he courted discussions with converts to Christianity. Cæcilius,

a presbyter of Carthage, was the instrument of his conversion; and he assumed his name when he was baptized, 246. He devoted his wealth to the relief of the poor and to other pious uses. He was chosen bishop of the Church at Carthage, 248, an office which he held until his martyrdom in 258. We have a contemporary account of his execution. The people crowded to the scene. He was called the friend of the poor, the helper of the defenseless. The place of execution was thronged as at the death of a king. The governor said: "A few more such executions, and we are lost."

Cyprian's extraordinary qualifications and activity as an ecclesiastical ruler are seen clearly in his letters. He lived in the times of heretical divisions, schisms, and of the persecutions. He apprehended the unity of the Church as of a living organism. He made this union a visible and external one, through the sacraments and the regularly-ordained clergy; not in a unity of faith and fellowship with our common Lord. He declared: "He can no longer have God for his Father who has not the Church for his mother. . . . Does any one believe this unity, which comes from the Divine strength and coheres in celestial sacraments, can be divided in the Church? He who does not hold this unity does not hold God's law, does not hold the faith of the Father and of the Son, does not hold life and salvation."

Cyprian on
the
Episcopate.

Cyprian made the episcopate the representative of this unity. He taught the substantial equality of the Christian bishops. The bishops, by the gift of the Spirit received at ordination, are the successors of the

apostles—they have apostolic powers, are teachers and judges of Christians; they bind and loose, and are stewards of Divine gifts of grace. His motto was, "The Church in the bishop." He says: "They are the Church who are a people united to the priest, and the flock which adheres to its pastor. Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church is in the bishop, and if any one be not with the bishop, that he is not in the Church "

The ability and generosity, the self-denial, paternal care, and benignity of this great prelate, with his death of martyrdom, tended to make this the prevailing doctrine and the corner-stone of the religious organization.

The position of Augustine as the great theologian of the West, his piety, his success as a controversialist, his character and growing influence, **Influence of Augustine.** made decisive his opinions on Church authority. He follows in the path of Cyprian, but goes beyond him. "No one attains to salvation and to eternal life who has not Christ for his head—who does not belong to his body, which is the Church. The entire Christ is the Head and body; the Head is the only begotten Son of God, and the body is the Church. He who agrees not with the Scriptures with the doctrine concerning the Head, although he may stand in external communion with the Church, notwithstanding, belongs not to her. But moreover, he who holds fast to all the Scripture teaches respecting the Head, and yet cleaves not to the unity of the Church, belongs not to her. . . . I should not believe the gospel had I not been moved to do so by the authority of the Catholic Church." Undoubtedly, unity was

the great need of the Church in that age of the dissolution of all political and social bonds; but this was a great price to pay for it. A broad foundation was laid for the claims of Rome and the superstructure was not long wanting.

The noblest representative of the episcopate of these centuries was Ambrose of Milan. His father's name was Ambrose, and he was prætorian præfect, or imperial governor, of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. During his term of office, his son Ambrose was born in Gaul, probably in 340. While quite young, his father died, when his mother repaired to Rome. There he received a religious education, and was reared in habits of virtue by his mother, a woman of exceptional accomplishment and piety. He was trained in the rudiments of Greek and Roman literature, and in law. He won such reputation in the practice of law at the court of Probus, the prætorian præfect of Italy, that he was taken into his counsel, and afterward appointed consular præfect, or imperial governor, for Liguria and Æmilia, which included Milan, Liguria, Turin, Genoa, and Bologna. His residence was at Milan, and by prudent and gentle use of his power, he conducted the affairs of the province with general approbation and growing popularity.

Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, died in 374. The tide of religious feeling ran high between the Arians and the orthodox. The people came together for the election of a new bishop. Ambrose came in his civil capacity of governor. "He spoke to the people in a grave, eloquent, and pathetic address, admonishing them to lay aside their contentions, and to proceed to

the election in the spirit of religious meekness." Some one cried out, "Let Ambrose be bishop," when he was at once unceremoniously chosen to the vacant See. He declined the office, and concealed himself, but was discovered, and his election was confirmed by the emperor. He was then a catechumen, but was baptized, and eight days afterward, in his thirty-fifth year, toward the end of 374, ordained Bishop of Milan. He had never married, but lived with his sister Marcellina, who had early taken the vows of a virgin in the Church, and a brother, Satyrus, likewise unmarried, and both older than himself, in the tenderest intimacy and family affection. Upon his ordination, as he had large means, he distributed his money to the poor and settled his lands upon the Church, except some of which he made his sister tenant for life. His sister looked after all the domestic needs of the household, while his brother relieved him from all financial cares and responsibilities. He entered upon a regular course of theological study, under the care of Simplician, a presbyter of Rome. He studied Philo, Origen, and Basil, and read Clement of Alexandria and Didymus. In his thinking, he drew from the Scriptures, the philosophic writings of Cicero, and from Philo and Origen. He was fitted for the duties of the high office to which he was so unexpectedly called by the purity of his character, his natural ability as a teacher and governor, his warm sympathies, and undaunted courage; also, in the execution of his duties, he was able, bold, and upright.

Ambrose responded with zeal to the cause of the orthodox against the Arians. He presided at Aquileia in 381, where the Arian bishops were condemned and

deposed. He withstood successfully Symmachus in his petition for the restoration of the Altar of Victory in the hall of the Roman Senate, and the revival of the pagan ceremonies. In 384, the young Emperor Valentinian and his mother Justina professed the Arian faith. They requested the use of two churches for the Arian party, but Ambrose refused. Force was employed to take possession of the large basilica for the imperial worshipers. The people favored Ambrose, and filled the church. Ambrose said: "If you demand my person, I am ready to submit; carry me to prison or to death—I will not resist; but I will never betray the Church of Christ. I will not call upon the people to succor me; I will die at the foot of the altar rather than desert it." One of the imperial chamberlains sent word to him: "While I live, dost thou despise Valentinian, I will strike off thy head!" Ambrose replied: "God grant you to fulfill what you threaten; for then my fate will be that of a bishop, your act will be that of a eunuch." The empress desisted from her purpose. When the emperor was urged to confront Ambrose in the church, he replied: "His eloquence would compel you yourselves to lay me, bound hand and foot, at his feet."

Ambrose refused to celebrate communion with those who had caused the death of Priscillian for heresy, and with the usurper who had murdered his friend, the Emperor Gratian. He expended the treasure and melted the sacramental service of the church to rescue the multitudes of Christians taken captive in the wars of that time. He successfully interceded with Theodosius for the pardon of those who had supported the usurper Eugenius. When Theodosius

himself, in a fit of ungovernable rage, had caused the massacre of seven thousand persons in the circus at Thessalonica, as punishment for a riot in which the majesty of the emperor had been insulted, and some of his officers maltreated and killed, Ambrose withdrew from the capital, and wrote a courteous but manly letter, in which he bade the emperor repent and do public penance for his sin. Theodosius acknowledged his guilt, stripped himself of his royal insignia, and, praying for pardon with groans and tears, was received again into communion with the Church.

Ambrose proved true indeed what his secretary said of him after his death,—he was “a man who, for fear of God, had never feared to speak the truth to kings.” The writings of his episcopate of twenty-three years fill four volumes, and comprise commentaries, sermons, ethical and practical writings, and ninety-two letters. Some of his hymns have come down to us, and are in all collections. The old Roman spirit and power speak in them.

He was not above his age in his exaltation of celibacy, his superstitious reverence of relics, dreams, and false miracles, and his bigotry, preventing justice to infidels and heretics where the interests of the Church were concerned. But he was great in character and as a Christian bishop. He fed with a liberal hand the poor who flocked to his dwelling; he showed uncommon generosity and kindness to his adversaries; with Christian affection, he sought the happiness of all men. He everywhere commanded the confidence of men. The dying Theodosius, “the last great emperor of the world,” commended his sons to his care.

When Ambrose was dying, the regent Stilicho urged the people to pray for his recovery. "I have not so lived among you," said Ambrose, "as to be ashamed to live; I have so good a Master that I am not afraid to die." He passed from the cares of the Church militant to the joys of the Church triumphant, on Good Friday, April 4, 397.

If there was magnificent scope for the exercise of episcopal powers in the days of Ambrose, the opportunity was not less in the time of the Teutonic conquest. The bishop then had his residence in the city—often in the prætorium, or house of the Roman governors. He wore the dress of a Roman noble, and was the center of the old Roman life, culture, and law. He acted as judge among the Roman inhabitants, as understanding their law, and where were concerned widows and orphans. He had in his care and administered the great wealth and large estates of the Church, which had been given and bequeathed by the pious of both the Roman and Teutonic peoples. In the assemblies of the Frankish nobles, he sat beside the king. In this intercourse, the bishops brought to the Frankish nobility, not only the Roman culture, but the Christian religion. The bishops were either men trained to a monkish life in the cloisters, or men of rank and literary talent from the old Gallic nobility; in either case, men of education. The monk had to outgrow the cloister; the noble often lacked the spiritual mind. Of the necessary qualifications for the office, Sidonius Apollinaris, himself a bishop of the time and a man of rank, writes: "If a monk is called to be a bishop, he might be as holy as Paul or Anthony,

**Bishops in
Gaul in the
Teutonic
Conquest.**

Hilarius or Macarius; yet would an objection be raised whether he would not use his office, not as a bishop, but as an abbot. He would be able to entreat for souls with the heavenly, but not with the earthly judge. The laity would not accommodate themselves, as would the clergy, to a monastic discipline. If he should be a clergyman, so would jealousy be aroused in all the rest; if a layman, so would they take it ill that he came from the laity. He should be capable of every embassy; not once only should he be in the service of the city before the king in royal sables, or stand before princes in purple cloaks." The bishops were the one bond for the whole society; their election, the only political act of the people. They were the "natural protectors and helpers of the poor, the prisoners, slaves, and freedmen. They used beneficence in such great measure as perhaps the world never saw again. When the Goths had ravaged South-eastern Gaul, Bishop Patiens, of Lyons, distributed grain gratuitously, not only in Lyons, but in all the cities on the Rhone and the Saone, in Arles, Riez, Avignon, Orange, Albi, Valence, Troyes, and Clermont. Sidonius Apollinaris strove to mediate between contending armies, freeing those carried into slavery. So did the bishops generally. No merchant went through the land to whom was denied an episcopal letter of commendation. The Jews knew how to prize their worth." It was not strange that, in an age of defeat, invasion, and ruin, the rule of the world fell into hands so able, characters so disinterested, and wills so strong. These were the new rulers of the new world.

CHAPTER III.

PROVINCIAL SYNODS, METROPOLITANS, AND PATRIARCHS.

IN the sketch of the Roman provincial administration, in the first part of this volume, the meeting and functions of the Provincial Assembly for arranging matters of taxation was described. This had its first and fullest development in Asia Minor. The importance of understanding the Roman political administration is seen, not only in the conflict of the heathen empire with the Church, and in the state of society treated in the fifth part, but especially in respect to the organization of the Christian Church, which, in all the gradations above the local society, followed closely the imperial model.

Provincial Synods, or Councils, are first found in Asia Minor, after the example of the Administrative Council of the province at the time of the Montanist and Paschal controversies. They spread widely through Asia Minor and the East, in the period from 160 to 200. They met in the spring and fall. They are first found in the West in the early part of the third century. They were first called to settle controversies, as under Cyprian; but by 250 they have a fixed form in Africa and Rome. Bishops alone vote in these assemblies; but other clergy may attend. In the first half of the third century, the bishops of the provincial capital have a precedence over the other bishops of the province.

Synods
and Metro-
politans.

He convokes the Synod, prepares the business which shall come before it, and draws up its decrees. He is the superior bishop of the province, and becomes metropolitan, or archbishop. The Provincial Synods develop an independent Church organization. The metropolitans were formally recognized by the Council of Nicæa. It provided that no bishop could be consecrated without the consent of his metropolitan. Though with no legal right, he came to influence the elections, as the Bishop of Alexandria those of Egypt. He exercised ecclesiastical superintendence over the whole province—the erection of new bishoprics, the delimitation of the metropolitan See, the removal of a bishop, the power of alienating Church property, and the care of the vacant bishoprics. In extreme cases, appeal was made to him, when he had the power of controlling the provincial bishop without the assistance of other bishops. He sent synodal letters, or accounts of important decisions or proceedings of the Councils, to the bishops. He could give or receive letters of communion, and publish and carry into effect laws enacted either by the emperors, or by Councils, relating to the Church.

The bishops of a province elected and ordained their metropolitan without the concurrence of the
Their Election. metropolitan of any other province. This was the approved constitution of the Church from Nicæa to Chalcedon, 325-451. Afterward, in the East, the election was conditioned by the rights of the patriarch.

In the latter part of the third century, Synods of more than one province were called together in cases

of controversy, as in the controversy concerning the Lapsed, or those who had taken part in heathen sacrifices, when were assembled the bishops of Africa and Mauritania. So, in the case of Paul of Samosata, in 262-268, a Synod of all the Syrian bishops was called at Antioch, and invitations were sent to the Bishops of Egypt and Cappadocia. Groups of provinces were united into præfectures for purposes of imperial administration. These came to have ecclesiastical Synods. At the Council of Chalcedon, 451, following and influenced by the civil divisions of the empire into dioceses, the metropolitans of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome became patriarchs. By the end of this period, the Bishop of Rome had gained a certain primacy over the other patriarchs. The Greek and Roman Catholic Churches recognize patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, thus maintaining a double succession. The Syrian, Maronite, and Coptic Churches have patriarchs, as have also the Nestorians and the Armenians. None of these Oriental Churches acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman See.

The organization of the Greek and Oriental Churches culminates in the patriarchate. The Church of England has the complete episcopal organization, with archbishops at its head, who are Metropolitans of Armagh and Dublin, of Canterbury and York. The various episcopal Churches among the Protestants, except the Protestant Episcopal Church, which follows the Church of England, have the office, functions, and order of bishops, with no tactual succes-

sion. This is the episcopacy of the first two centuries. It includes the Lutherans, Moravians, and Methodist Episcopalians.

The Reformed Churches and the Presbyterian bodies are governed by Assemblies of presbyters and laymen. All clergymen are of equal rank. The Independents, Congregationalists, and Baptists have no gradation of clerical rank or Church superiority, the individual Church being the unit and sole authority in their organization. Each of these great systems of Church polity—the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational—can claim some features of the organization of the early Church. Despite all the variety in that organization during the first century, it may be doubted if there is in existence a Church polity which does not either largely add to the organization of the Apostolic Church, or contradict the principles or usage of the apostles themselves.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRIMACY OF ROME.

How did the Bishop of Rome come to have an authority superior to the other bishops of the Church?

How did he become Pope and head of the Roman Catholic Church?

How did he come to claim to be the supreme ruler in the Church for all Christendom, and the vicegerent, or representative, of God on earth?

These questions outline the history and claims of the Papacy. The answers to them can not fail to be of interest to every Christian.

The accomplishment of these ends and the defining of these claims was a process of centuries; but it depended, first and chiefly, on the political importance of the rule and authority of the city of Rome. That alone explains the facts. How great was that dominion, how long in preparation, how enduring in structure, will be plain to the reader of the opening pages of this volume. Without some comprehension of the world-wide and age-enduring rule of Rome, there can be no understanding of the existence and authority of the Roman Catholic Church. With that clearly in mind, there is no mystery in its origin, growth, and predominance. Rome was the source of law and government for four hundred years over the lands conquered by the Christian faith—a territory larger than that of all Europe.

From Rome law was received, and appeals in its administration were made, and allegiance rendered, for more than the lifetime of ten generations of men. It would have been strange if, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the center of the societies of that Church which aimed at universal conquest for our Lord had been at any other place than at the capital of the world. That time was at the full-tide of the power and splendor of the empire. It was the age of the Coliseum.

The Church of the first generation after the Passion and Pentecost looked, as did Paul and the other apostles, to Jerusalem as the mother Church. Its fall made necessary another center. Antioch might claim to be the first Church of

**First Center
of the Church
at Jerusalem.**

the Gentile Christians, and Ephesus to have had an acknowledged influence during the life of St. John; but neither of them could compare with the metropolis and capital of the empire, where Jewish and Gentile Christians were nearer fusion than anywhere else, where St. Paul was martyred, and where St. Peter was said to have preached and ruled and died with him.*

That Rome was necessarily the center of every widespread religious movement in the empire is

**Rome Takes
the Place of
Jerusalem.**

proved by every influential heretic coming to Rome, from Simon Magus to Sabellius. So the great Gnostic leaders, Marcion and Valentinian, and Theodotus, the author of the error for which Paul of Samosata was condemned. The causes which drew heretical teachers to Rome would make influential the Church which met and overcame their teachings, and cast them out of its fold. With this great cause, as always in every process of histor-

* See Appendix, Note A.

ical development, wrought many important minor ones. A cause of no small influence was the position of the Christian society at Rome. It was early founded—probably soon after Pentecost—by some Jewish Christians, whose names and share in the work are alike unknown. When St. Paul wrote, in 57, the Church was then strong, influential, and well spoken of in all Churches of the Christian faith. The next notice we have of the Church is in the epistle of Clement, 96, in which he shows how the Roman Church interests herself in the affairs of other Churches. He gives the judgment and advice of the Church in Rome in regard to disorders in the Church at Corinth. The Church showed itself liberal, sympathetic, and interested in intercourse with other Churches in the provinces, and equal to the demands which her position made upon her.

The conflict with the Gnostic heresies and Montanist error in the second century increased the influence of the Church of the largest city where the faith of Christ was preached. Not only were chiefs of heretical parties busy in Rome, but appeals were made to the Roman Church by both parties where differences arose in the provinces, as in the case of the Montanist controversy in Asia Minor. Bishop Victor, of Rome, 190–202, endeavored, in the Paschal controversy, to cause all the Churches, especially those of Asia Minor, to conform to the Roman date for celebrating Easter. Irenæus, writing 190, holds that “the true faith in the whole Church must be in agreement with Rome, because it is the greatest, the oldest, and known of all, and founded by the apostles

**Effect of the
Controversies with
Heretics on
the Position
of Rome.**

Peter and Paul, and had preserved the apostolic tradition and faith until his time by a succession of bishops."

A check in this progress to a primacy over the bishops of the other Churches was experienced at the close of the second century, in the development and independence of the provincial organization of Synods, and in the theory of Tertullian and Cyprian that all bishops, not those of the apostolic seats—that is, cities where the apostles had lived—only, assure and preserve the Christian faith.

Cyprian taught that the episcopate from its origin was one, and all bishops are equal. In each, all are represented. The chair of Peter, Bishop of Rome, is the symbol of the unity of the episcopate. In the case of Paul of Samosata, 273, the heathen Emperor Aurelian decided that those were Christians who were in communion with the Bishop of Rome. This applies to the provincial bishops.

A third cause was the fact that Rome was the only apostolic seat in the West. Her authority, derived from the residence and teaching of the apostles, was shared with no city west of the Adriatic. From her the faith went out to Africa, Spain and Britain, while Irenæus, born in Asia Minor, and ruling the Church in Gaul, acknowledged the greatness of the Roman Church. The uniqueness of this position was seen in the relations between the bishops of the East and West. When the Synodal decrees were sent from the bishops of the East, they were sent to the Bishops of Rome, who communicated them to the other Churches of the

**Rome the
Only Apostolic
Seat in
the West,**

West. Two most momentous secular changes, the removal of the capital from Rome and the barbarian invasions, greatly enhanced the position of Rome as the mother Church and the superior episcopal seat in the West.

The removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople freed the Roman Bishop from the nearness and oppression of the imperial power, which proved so often injurious, and sometimes fatal, to the occupant of the See of Constantinople. The power of the Bishops of Rome had opportunity to develop without the calling to account, dwarfing of prerogative, and pruning of claims, which would have limited it, if the imperial residence had remained by the Tiber instead of being transferred to the Bosphorus.

**Removal of
the Capital
from Rome to
Constanti-
nople.**

The invasions of the barbarians tended to the same result. The secular power being humbled or overthrown, the conquerors looked with awe and reverence at the only possessor of power, of influence and government, whom their numbers could not intimidate or their arms and pillage destroy. The fact that these alien invaders were of the Arian Creed bound the orthodox or Nicæan Christians to the supremacy of the Roman See as their patron and protector. In him was preserved the majesty of the Roman name and the authority of the Roman power. In the person of Leo I, the Bishop of Rome acceded to the vacant throne of the emperors of the West. Thus the Bishop of Rome became the head of Western Christendom, and hence of the Roman Catholic Church.

**Effect of the
Barbarian
Conquest.**

The progress of the See of Rome to the primacy

is seen in its relations with the bishops of the East. There was now the capital of the empire, and apostolic seats and churches as ancient as Rome. The predominance of Rome was greatly advanced by the theological controversies of the East. Rome always profited by fishing in troubled waters. During the great Arian controversy her bishops were the steadfast supporters of the orthodox cause. Athanasius found protection and support from Julius, 340-346, which kept the West firm by his side. The result was at once apparent. The Synod of Arles, 314, and the Council of Nicæa, 325, had not once mentioned any claims of the superiority of the Bishop of Rome; but the Council of Sardica, 343, decreed that a bishop condemned by a Provincial Council might appeal to Julius, Bishop of Rome, who might review the case before judges named by him. The Council was a small one of the bishops adhering to Athanasius; and the jurisdiction conferred is one of honor and for the present emergency by an oppressed minority. The Roman bishops, however, claimed it gave a general and direct jurisdiction over the whole Church, and falsely ascribe it to the great Council of Nicæa. The first Council of Constantinople, 381, however, gave Constantinople a place beside Rome as one of the patriarchates. The bishops of North Africa were in dispute in regard to appeals to Rome with its bishops from 418 to 432. The Canons of Sardica, falsely ascribed to Nicæa, were appealed to in order to sustain the claims of Rome. The African bishops investigated the case, denounced the false claim, and refused the right to appeal. Nevertheless, Chrysostom, 403-407, appealed

**Influence of
Theological
Controversies.**

to Rome from the arrogance of Theophilus and the tyranny of the emperor. So both parties in the controversies of Nestorius and Eutyches appealed to the occupant of the Roman See. Yet the Bishops of Rome have not always been orthodox. Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus, 190-222, were Modalistic Monarchians. Liberius, 358, signed a heterodox creed at the command of the Arian emperor. Zosimus, 417, favored Pelagius, while the occupant of no See ever made a more pitiable exhibition of obsequiousness and tergiversation than Vigilius, 540-555.

The extension of the hierarchical constitution, through the creation of metropolitans and patriarchs, favored the advancement of the Roman Bishop. In the West, it made him the supreme ecclesiastical authority. In the East, after Chalcedon, 451, Alexandria was overthrown and Antioch discredited by the Nestorian heresy, while Constantinople, with no apostolic tradition, and hampered by the imperial authority, was no match for the growing power of Rome. We will see this power suffering defeats, but making steady advance toward the recognition of permanent authority and primacy in the great Popes of the last two centuries of this period.

Effect of the
Metropolitan
Constitution.

The list of the Bishops of Rome for the first two centuries presents only four Latin names. The membership and officers of the Church and the language of its worship were alike largely Greek. The Christian religion had not yet won the ruling minds of the great governing race of the ancient world. Indeed, there is no name of note in the list from St. Clement, 100-109, to that of Innocent I, 402-417. While Ath-

anasius, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine were making forever illustrious the Sees they ruled, no great words or work or character comes from Rome. While great schools at Alexandria, Cæsarea, and Antioch were producing scholars, authors, and eminent prelates, but two authors of any note are recorded in the Roman annals, and they were the schismatic Hippolytus and Novatian; for while Jerome was a Roman presbyter the work by which he is remembered was done after he left Rome. If there is no single great name in these centuries in the history of the Roman Church, in the last two of our period, 400-600, there were three great men who were most able ecclesiastical rulers, and obtained and secured the primacy of the Roman See in all the lands of the West. The first Leo and the first Gregory were the ablest men of their times, and laid the foundations for that supremacy of the Roman Church which endured until the Reformation.

Innocent entertained the appeal of Chrysostom against Theophilus of Alexandria, and endeavored to arrange a Council of Bishops to secure justice. He inclined against Pelagius. During his pontificate Rome was taken by Alaric, though in his absence. He encouraged celibacy. By his enlightened rule he won many heathen to the Church. He had genius for administration. He strongly urged the claims of Rome. He wrote thus to the Council of Carthage, 417: "Whatever was transacted in the provinces—let them be ever so remote—should not be considered as ratified until it had come to the knowledge of the Apostolic Chair; so that by its entire authority every just decision might be confirmed,

and other Churches, as the pure streams should be distributed from their original, undisturbed source through the different countries of the world, might learn from *this* Church what they had to ordain, whom they had to pronounce innocent, and whom to reject as irreclaimably wrong." These claims were rejected in North Africa; but the time came when they could be made good.

Leo I, born about 390, was a man of lofty ambition and commanding intellect. He was highly cultivated, according to the standards of that time, but knew no Greek. He came in conflict with the Manichæans, and gave them choice of conversion or banishment. He was distinguished above all his predecessors for his preaching. From his Leo I,
440-461. short, pithy sermons are derived many of the lessons found in the Roman Breviary. Ninety-six of his sermons and one hundred and ninety-three of his letters have come down to us. After the complete destruction of Aquileia in 452 by Attila, King of the Huns, Leo met him, and persuaded him to turn back from an attack on Rome. He was less successful with Genseric in 455; but he showed equal courage, and mitigated in some degree the horrors of the worst sack and pillage Rome has known. At the Council of Chalcedon, 451, Leo's letter to Flavian, in which he set forth the doctrine of the two natures in the one person of our Lord, became the basis of the Creed of the Council and of the Church. But Leo's greatness stands out as the "representative of the imperial dignity and severity of old Rome; and he is the true founder of the mediæval Papacy in all its magnificence of conception and uncompromising strength." He

was the first Pope. What were the grounds of his conception of the authority of the Roman See will be given nearly in his own words. His chief thought is that he is Peter's representative. This teaching had first been broached by Stephen, 253-257; it had not been forgotten by Damasus, 366-385, Siricius, 385-395, or Innocent; but Leo first made it of permanent influence. It is the one theological basis for the Roman supremacy, and answers our third question in regard to the claims of Rome. Leo says: "The love of the whole Church recognizes Peter himself in his See, and Peter's care still rules in all parts of the Church." Peter's successor is all he was, whose special commission it was to "strengthen his brethren" and "to feed Christ's sheep." More than this, "Christ willed that his sacred gift (the spreading of the gospel) should belong to the office of all the apostles only so far as is consistent with his having endowed the blessed Peter, chief of all the apostles, with it in a supreme manner, and his having willed that from him, as from a head, his gifts should flow out into the whole body, so that he should know that he has no share in the Divine mystery who has dared to retire from the solid foundations of Peter." And moreover, "though there are many bishops and pastors, yet Peter should govern them all by his peculiar office, whom Christ governs by his supreme authority. Thus great and wonderful is the share in its own power which the Divine condescension assigned to this man." Rome is mightier than when at the head of the empire. "They [the apostles Peter and Paul] it is who have brought thee [Rome] to such a height of glory, that as a holy race, an elect people, a

royal and sacerdotal state, raised to be head of the world through the Holy See of the blessed Peter, thou shouldest rule with a broader sway in the divine religion than by thine earthly dominion."

Canon Gore sums up tersely the points of Leo's theory: "1. Whatever Peter was among the apostles, that the Pope is among the bishops. 2. The Pope is not patriarch, or chief among pa- **Statement of Leo's Claims.** triarchs, but is in immediate relation to the whole Church East and West, similar to the relation of the capital to the whole Roman Empire. 3. Peter is a *mediator* between Christ and the other apostles. He is the only *immediate* recipient of the sacerdotal grace; and what the others receive, they receive through him. If this be true, then separation from Rome is separation from grace, and therefore from Christ." Of course, there is no support for such teaching in the Holy Scriptures, and the example of St. Paul at Antioch is in evident disproof. But Leo's theory of mediatorship was consistent and thoroughgoing. He says: "Indulgence of God can not be obtained except by sacerdotal [priestly] supplication."

His practice corresponded with his theory. He wrote to the Illyrian bishops "that on himself as the successor of the apostle Peter, on whom, as a reward of his faith, the Lord had con- **Leo's Practice.** ferred the primacy of the apostolic rank, and on whom he had firmly grounded the universal Church, was devolved the care of all the Churches, to participate in which he invited his colleagues, the other bishops." He succeeded in securing an edict from Valentinian III, 445, "that nothing should be done in Gaul, contrary to the ancient usage, without the authority of

the Bishop of Rome; and the decree of the Apostolic See should henceforth be law."

Leo's greatest triumph was the acceptance of his teaching as the basis of the Creed of Chalcedon; but with this victory came a sore defeat. The twenty-eighth canon of this Council, following the canon of the first Council of Constantinople, 381, made the city on the Bosphorus equal in rank with Rome, and enlarged the limits of her patriarchate. This shattered Leo's theory and claim of universal and immediate appellate jurisdiction. He contended against it, but it remained in force in the East.

Leo's greatest work was the establishment of the right of bishops, in cases of importance, to appeal from their metropolitans to the Pope at Rome. This is the corner-stone of the Papacy, and is rejected by the Greek, Oriental, and English Churches, who retain the constitutions of metropolitans and patriarchs.

Leo does not refer to the Virgin Mary; mentions relics but once; sanctions prayers to the saints, but mentions only Sts. Peter, Paul, and Laurence. He makes no allusion to confession in any sacramental sense.

His conduct in controversy has been denounced as "imperious, precipitate, unjust, and not overscrupulous;" and his style characterized as "business-like, severe, terse, and epigrammatic." He was sincerely pious, modest in reference to himself, and with himself severe. His whole life was given to the aggrandizement of the See of Rome, which he was convinced was the only safeguard of society, the Church, and the faith. In ability to think

Leo and the
Council of
Chalcedon,
451.

Character
of Leo.

and to rule, no greater name is found among the Popes of Rome.

The years following Leo's pontificate were stormy ones for the Roman See. On account of a quarrel with the Bishop of Constantinople, com- **From Leo to**
munion was broken off between the East **Gregory I.**
and West from 484-519. A few years later, the armies of Justinian came into Italy. After twenty years of rapine, desolation, and conquest, the Popes were little more independent than the Bishops of Constantinople. No bishop of the imperial capital ever showed greater compliance or baseness than Vigilius, 540-555. Under his four successors—Pelagius I, John III, Benedict I, and Pelagius II, 555-590—the Papacy reached the lowest depths of degradation and dependence. From this condition it was raised by Gregory I, who realized Leo's theories in practice, and from whom directly descends the Papacy of the Middle Ages.

Gregory I, called the Great, was born, probably, at Rome, about 540. His father, Gordianus, possessed senatorial rank. Pope Felix II is said to **Gregory**
have been his great-grandfather. His **the Great.**
mother, Sylvia, was remarkable for her mental endowments. Both she and two of his father's sisters, Tarsillia and Æmiliana, have been canonized as saints. He was educated for the law. When about thirty years of age, he was chosen *prætor urbanus* by the citizens, a position he held for three years (571-574), discharging his duties with great pomp and magnificence. Deeply affected by the death of his father, he retired from public life, and gave his whole fortune to pious uses. He built six monasteries in Italy, and

one in Rome, dedicated to St. Andrew, in which he embraced the Benedictine rule, and devoted his whole time to works of charity and the exercise of fasting, meditation, and prayer. He became abbot of the monastery in 575, and afterward was Papal representative at the court of Constantinople for three years. In 590, he was chosen Pope. He declined, but was confirmed by the emperor. As Bishop of Rome, he had charge of the Churches and ecclesiastical interests of the city. As metropolitan, he had the oversight of the seven suffragan, or later cardinal, bishops in the neighborhood of Rome. As patriarch, he ruled over Central and Southern Italy and the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. In addition, with Leo, he claimed appellate jurisdiction over the whole Church.

Gregory was a great administrator—one of the very greatest of a great race. Eight hundred and **Work** forty of his letters remain to attest the **of Gregory** vigor of his mind and the variety of his occupations and responsibilities. During his pontificate, the Lombards were checked; discipline enforced in Italy, France, England, Spain, and Africa; paganism, Arianism, and Donatism weakened. He saw realized the desire of his heart for forty years, in 596, in the mission of the monk, Augustine, for the conversion of England. He was the inventor of the Church doctrine of purgatory, and the modern Roman teaching concerning masses and transubstantiation. The present order of the mass is almost entirely due to his arrangement. He gave attention to sacred music and primary education. Not slow to assert the authority of the Papal Chair, he was far from claim-

ing the titles and privileges of his successors. In his protest against the use of the title of Universal Bishop he says: "The apostle Peter was the first member of the universal Church. As for Paul, Andrew, and John, they were only the heads of particular congregations; but all were members of the Church under one head, and none would ever be called universal."

In his administration as patriarch, he paid particular attention to the choice of bishops. The candidate should be already in holy orders; not bound to any secular office; free from bodily defects; of good life and conversation; well-versed in the Holy Scriptures, especially the Psalms; benevolent and charitable; not a youth, or one who had married a second wife or a widow, or who had young children. If suitably qualified, he was to be chosen from the clergy he was to rule. The use of money or influence in the elections was strongly prohibited. Finally, Gregory reserved the right of confirmation to himself.

While he insisted on his rights of supervision and strict discipline over bishops and metropolitans, he was equally careful to respect theirs. He writes to Dominicus of Carthage in 592: "But as to what your fraternity has written about ecclesiastical privileges, have no doubt whatever about this, that as we defend our own rights, so we preserve those of every single Church. I neither grant to any one, through favor, more than he has a claim to; nor, through ambition, derogate from the just rights of any; but I desire to honor my brethren in all respects, but that each one should

(a) Choice
of Bishops

(b) His Administration
in Reference
to the
Bishops.

be so honored that his rights be not opposed to those of another."

Gregory took great interest in the condition of the clergy. He held that "bad priests are the cause of the people's ruin;" that "what is a fault in (c) **The** a layman, is a crime in a clergyman;" and **Clergy.** "that a clergyman, corrupt within, can not long stand in relation to the world outside." He forbade the ordination of any one in public office, civil or military. Wandering clergymen were called back to their work. He urged upon all the supreme duty of aiding the poor and oppressed. "In all the clergy, he required strict celibacy; they were to have no women in their houses but mothers, sisters, or wives married before ordination, from whom they were to live separately."

As the first monk who became Pope, he had great solicitude for the condition of those following the monastic life. To an abbot, he writes: (d) **Monks.** "As the ceaseless remissness of thy deceased predecessor saddened us, so thy care rejoices us. Restrain, therefore, those who are committed to thee from gluttony, pride, avarice, vain discourse, and all uncleanness. In which correction, know that this order is to be observed, that thou love the persons, but persecute the vices, lest, shouldst thou act otherwise, correction pass into cruelty, and thou ruin those thou desirest to amend." He ordained that no man was to become a monk under eighteen years of age; two years of probation were always to be required (Benedict required but one), and from soldiers three; no married person was to receive the vows, unless both man and wife were willing to embrace the mo-

nastic life; not even an abbot was to leave his convent except on urgent occasions, and no one ever alone; no monk or nun was to retain any private possession; no young woman was to be made an abbess; no woman was to be "veiled" (finally and irrevocably consecrated to virginity) under sixty years of age—(forty appears to have been the previous limit fixed by the Councils.) He was careful to see that monastic communities were provided with endowments, and to protect them in the possession of such as had been given them by bequest or otherwise. He contributed largely from the revenues of "the patrimony" for this purpose.

The care and increase of this patrimony was an unceasing object of his solicitude. The See of Rome had large possessions, constituting what was called the "Patrimony of St. Peter," ^{(c) Care of} "the Patrimony."^{mony."} not only in Italy and the adjoining islands, but also in remoter parts, including Illyria, Gaul, Dalmatia, and even Africa and the East. In regard to the possessions of the Church in Italy, Mr. Bryce says: "Ever since the restriction of the Western Empire had emancipated the ecclesiastical potentate from secular control, the first and most abiding object of Gregory's schemes and prayers had been the acquisition of territorial wealth in the neighborhood of the capital. He had, indeed, a sort of justification; for Rome, a city with neither trade nor industry, was crowded with poor, for whom it devolved upon the bishop to provide." Thus was laid the foundation for wealth which led to power, and, one hundred and fifty years later, to that temporal dominion which ceased only in 1870. These estates of the entire pat-

rimony were managed by officers called "rulers of the patrimony" and "defensores," to whom Gregory continually wrote, directing them about the management of the farms and the protection of the peasants. In this work, he showed a genius for administration more minute and not inferior to Leo's. The revenues of the "patrimony" were divided according to custom in the West—in equal parts to the bishops, the clergy, the buildings and service of the Church, and to the poor.

Gregory was unbounded in his charities. A great part of the population of Rome depended on them.

(f) **Charities.** Daily, when he sat down to dinner, a portion was sent to the poor at his door. He had the poor and infirm searched out in every street, and kept a large book for the names of the objects of his bounty.

What difficulties he fought against in the closing years of his work, and yet how untiring and successful he was in its performance, his letters of Gregory. show. In 600, he writes to Eulogius of Alexandria: "In the last year, I have received your letter, but have been unable to answer it until now, owing to the excess of my illness. For nearly two years I have been confined to my bed, and afflicted with such pains from gout that I have hardly been able to rise for three hours' space on festivals to celebrate mass. I am soon compelled, by excess of pain, to lie down again, and seek relief by groaning. My pain is sometimes alleviated, and sometimes intense; but never so alleviated as to leave me, nor so intense as to kill me. Hence I am daily dying, but never die." Writing to Theodelinda, Queen of the Lom-

bards, in 604, he says: "Not only are we unable to dictate; we can not even rise to speak; as your messengers, who found us well when they came, have left us in the utmost danger." The indefatigable and dauntless spirit left this home of pain, March 12, 604.

In personal appearance, Gregory was of medium height. The expression of his countenance was mild; his features were regular; his complexion swarthy and fresh. He had a high forehead, with dark hair, nose slightly aquiline, lips thick and ruddy, and his beard somewhat tawny and of moderate length.

Gregory's
Appearance.

Gregory had an excessive preference for monastic and ascetic forms of life, and the superstitions of the age in regard to miracles and relics. He was sometimes too courtly in his address to rulers, the most lamentable instance of which was his letter to the cruel usurper Phocas. "In nature and bearing he was singularly tolerant, liberal, and kindly;" in administration, considerate yet firm—never harsh or domineering.

Gregory's
Character

The use of the pallium was introduced in confirming the election of bishops, and so strengthening the power of Rome, 543-595. The pallium was a narrow band, which surrounded the neck, and hung down before and behind, like a letter Y. It was made of white wool, ornamented with four dark-purple crosses. It was sent from Rome by the Pope, and no election was valid which was not confirmed by the receipt of this gift. This made the entire episcopacy of the West dependent on the Roman See, and is the corner-stone of the constitution and administration of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Pallium.

Two events beyond this period were necessary to the development of the Papacy of the Middle Ages. **Conquests of the Saracens.** One, the conquest of the Saracens, which destroyed the patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, limited the development and growth of Constantinople, and so removed all rivalry, if not resistance, of the Churches of the Orient. On the other hand, the life-and-death struggle of Christendom for existence in Africa, Spain, France, and Italy made helpful the centralization of authority and discipline in Rome; and the conversion of the Teutonic nations contributed to the same result.

The final step, and the one on which the Papacy of the Middle Ages rested, was not taken until "the **'Forged Decretals.'**" 'Forged Decretals' secured it its temporal suzerainty, the immunity of its priesthood in the superior ecclesiastical tribunals, and the tremendous prerogative of excommunication and interdict."

The Papacy was the slow-growing development of the hierarchical constitution of the Church. The **Causes of the Development of the Papacy.** system of bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs seemed to require a head to complete it, and secure its unity. This development also represents the results of personal ambition and fraud. From the forged date of the Sardican Canon to the Forged Decretals and donation of Constantine, through the Middle Ages, fraud has been a powerful element in the establishment of the Papal claims.

However beneficial such a centralized authority was, in some respects, to the life and civilization of

the Middle Ages, we should not forget that it rendered necessary the separation of the Greek and Roman Churches, and hence the division of Christendom in the face of a powerful Mohammedanism, which was the crowning misfortune of the Crusades, and caused the loss of Constantinople to Christendom; and that it rendered necessary the great Reformation before the Middle Ages could give way to modern times. It is to-day a survival of an outworn part in the life of the Church and of Christian civilization. Its claims, both political and ecclesiastical, are as anachronistic and impossible of realization as its infallibility is incredible.

CHAPTER V.

THE CLERGY.

THE development of the life and work of the clergy and their position in the Church, the State, and society was determined by the action of three forces—the theoretic ideal of the office, the organization and discipline of the Church, and its legal establishment by the State.

Though there were special officers from the first in the Church, these never received spiritual gifts to the exclusion of the rest of the Church, nor were they channels through which the grace necessary to a Christian life came to the body of believers, nor were they widely sundered from them. The consciousness of this general priesthood of believers remained long in the Church. Tertullian says: "Are not we laymen priests? Where three are, a Church is, although they be laymen. For each individual lives by his own faith; nor is there exception of persons with God." Also Origen says: "All Christians are priests; not merely or pre-eminently the office-bearers, but all according to the measure of their knowledge and their services in the kingdom of God." On the other hand, Clement, 96, quotes the Jewish priests in the Old Testament as a type and analogy of the Christian ministry. This was a favorite parallel with those who wished to exalt the clergy above the laity. In the third century, especially after the overthrow of Montanism, there came into promi-

The Growth
of the Sacer-
dotal Ideal

nence the idea of the Christian minister as a sacerdotal priest. This was favored by the increasing comparison of the Christian worship with the heathen mysteries. The sacrificial idea was first set forth fully by Cyprian, and with emphasis, as a fundamental distinction, by Augustine. The development of this doctrine is shown in the next part of this work, which treats of Christian worship. The third element in the growth of this theory of the office of the clergy was the predominance of the ascetic and monastic ideal of the Christian life. Through this influence the clergy were expected to separate themselves from the world and from the life of the home.

The growth of the Church, the increase of its functions, and the power of the hierarchical development caused a corresponding multiplication of clerical offices. By the side of the bishop, the presbyters, and deacons, came into being the minor orders of the clergy, which became very numerous in the large cities.

Church Organization and Discipline. Minor Orders.

These were the *sub-deacons*, through the division of the work of the deacons; the *lectors*, those who read the Holy Scriptures; the *exorcists*, those who had care of the spiritually sick, and repeated over them the prayers of the Church; the *acolyths*, who were the personal companions of the bishops, and who rendered personal service to the clergy; the *ostiaries*, the doorkeepers, who saw that no suspicious persons entered the places of Christian worship, and watched over the separation of the catechumens and penitents in the services of the Church. Both of the latter were from analogous officers in the heathen temples. By 260 most Churches in Rome and the West had these

lower orders. The development in the East was independent and not so early. The Church in Rome, under Cornelius, 251-253, had in its clergy forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty-two exorcists, lectors, and ostiaries. Fifteen hundred widows, sick, and poor were cared for by the Churches, which fifty years later were forty in number. After the establishment of the Church by Constantine, not only did the numbers of the clergy greatly increase, but there were added two lower grades, not orders, of clerical service—the *parabolani*, those who cared for and ministered to the sick for the Church; and the *copialæ*, or *fossores*, those who buried the dead. These formed a kind of guild, under the control of the bishop. Their number was often increased to augment his power, and was not seldom limited by law. The limit at Alexandria of the *parabolani* was 600; at Constantinople, 1,100. For the care of the property of the Church were created the offices of stewards, treasurers, secretaries, legal advisers, and keepers of the archives. These positions were not necessarily, but often, filled by the clergy. The increase in the numbers and wealth of the Church led to the creation of the office of *arch-deacon*. He was the right hand of the bishop in the care of church property, in his judicial administration, in the supervision of the lower clergy, and in the appointment of presbyters and deacons. Thus he came to have great influence. The character of the administration of the bishop often depended on the ability and piety, or the reverse, of the arch-deacon. The *archpresbyter* never came to have the same importance, but he represented the bishop in

his absence. Comparatively few of the clergy, and almost none in the West, could be educated in the theological schools of Alexandria, Cæsarea, Antioch, Edessa, or Nisibis. They were therefore trained in the lower orders for the diaconate, and in that office for the order of presbyters. In this training and promotion through the grades of the clergy was limited the choice of the people, and formed the higher clergy. Later the monasteries often became schools from which were taken the clergy. Deacons were not ordained before twenty-five years of age, nor presbyters before the age of thirty.

As the ascetic and later monastic ideal came to prevail in the Church, the theory gained ground that the clergy should not marry. In the third century this began to be applied to the bishops. **Cellibacy of the Clergy.** The small Spanish Council of Elvira, 305, pronounced against a married clergy; the great Council of Nicæa, 325, refused to take such action. The Council of Gangra, 360, pronounced against those who refused to take part in divine service celebrated by married priests. But the usage was for marriage to be allowed which took place before ordination, but none to men in orders, hence no second marriages. The Council of Ancyra, 314, allowed a deacon to marry, if he had stated his intention to do so at his ordination. From about this time dates the Greek usage that deacons and priests may marry before ordination, but not a second time; bishops must be and remain unmarried. In the West, the action of Siricius, Bishop of Rome, 385, in issuing a decretal (letter) against a married clergy—that is, deacons, presbyters, and bishops—forms the turning-

point. This view was confirmed by the Synods of Carthage, 401; Turin, 401; and Orange, 441; and by the influence of bishops like Augustine, who lived together with their clergy in a house in common. Leo I included sub-deacons in the prohibition. The popes were zealous for clerical celibacy as freeing the ministry from the cares and complications of the world; yet there were married bishops from 350 to 410 such as Hilary of Poitiers, the father of Gregory Nazianzen and Synesius of Cyrene. Vigilantius, about 400, appeals to bishops who chose only married men for deacons. But the monastic ideal prevailed; the unmarried clergy were more dependent and pliant to the commands of the Popes and bishops, and were on this account as well preferred.

Those who had led an immoral life could not be ordained, or those who had married twice, or who had married a sister-in-law, or a niece, or those who had been baptized when ill. Also actors, dancers, pantomimes, soldiers, and slaves previous to emancipation, were excluded. The clergy were forbidden to follow secular callings except in cases of necessity. They were not to undertake the affairs of others, or to do business on commission; nor were they allowed to take interest, which was accounted usury. They were also forbidden to assume any civil office.

Through its establishment by the State, the Church became a legal institution, with legal claims upon her members, and supported by the power and resources of the State. The clergy were directly supported from the treasury of the State. The endowments

Exclusion
from
Ordination.

The Effect of
the Union of
the Church
with the
State.

and temple property were often given to the Church, and also money from the communal treasury, for the erection of church edifices. The emperor made presents of land, etc., to the Church. She was also authorized to receive gifts, bequests, and fees.

The clergy, like the heathen priests, were exempt from all personal public service. They were also relieved from all municipal offices and the burdens of the Decurionate. Hence, as many of the latter sought to enter the ranks of the clergy, it became a law that every one inscribed in the list of the decurions must resign his property before becoming a clergyman. All Church and clerical property was exempt from extraordinary taxes and compulsory services. The clergy were also free from all ordinary legal processes, and had laws and courts of their own. Exemptions.

The bishops exercised judicial authority through courts of arbitration. Even the heathen preferred these to the ordinary civil courts. They received police jurisdiction in certain cases, and had supervision of all moral questions. Bishops also had the right of intercession in the cases of condemned criminals.

The right of asylum for those accused of crime was granted to the Christian Churches, as formerly to the heathen temples. This was a temporary refuge from popular rage or private vengeance, but was not designed to withdraw the transgressor from the course of civil justice. Heresy now became a crime against the State, and false teachers were liable to civil penalties. The first to be so executed were Priscillian and his companion, by the usurper Maxi-

mus, 385. The act was denounced by Ambrose, St. Martin of Tours, and the leading Christian bishops; but in the following centuries the Church and its rulers seemed wholly to lose sight of the rights of conscience.

Was this development normal and justified? Such was the development, sketched in these chapters, from the Church of the earlier generations of Christians, which, with its spirituality, simplicity, sacrifice, and abounding love, appeals to every Christian heart. The Church came into union with the State, and was often stronger than any civil or secular power. It had an elaborate and thoroughly-disciplined hierarchy, whose members in the West were forbidden to marry, and were organized under a monarchical papal rule. It came to be an institution of vast wealth, with an army of servitors, clerical and monastic, whose prelates had often all the pride and power, and sometimes even violence, of the secular princes.

We are compelled to ask, Was this development, which presents to us a Church as far removed from that of the first century as from the extremest form of Protestantism, necessary, or was it designed by her Lord? Granting that growth and development were necessary, does that justify all that took place? Are there any principles by which we can judge whether a course of development is right, normal, and beneficent, or the reverse? History is a world judgment; but just because it is a judgment, it is not a justification of all that has been done in the world or in the Church. Historic existence is not historic justification, but may be the exact opposite. History

shows the development of institutions, but does not justify their means of growth or their existence. The principles underlying the office of the Christian ministry, and which should control its development and its relations to the Church, have never been better stated than by Bishop Lightfoot, the ablest scholar England has given the Christian Church in this century, and which forms a basis for the reunion of Christendom more Scriptural, spiritual, and stable than any decrees of Popes or Councils.

“The kingdom of Christ, not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious. It is, in the fullest sense, free, comprehensive, universal. It displays this character, not only in the acceptance of all comers who seek admission, irrespective of race, caste, or sex, but also in the instruction and treatment of those who are already its members. It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries; because every time and every place alike are holy. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man is forgiven. Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To him immediately he is responsible, and from him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength.

**The Ideal of
the Christian
Ministry.**

“The influence of this idea on the moral and spiritual growth of the individual believer is too plain to require any comment; but its social effects may call for a passing remark. It will hardly be denied, I think, by those who have studied the history of modern civilization with attention, that his concep-

tion of the Christian Church has been mainly instrumental in the emancipation of the degraded and oppressed, in the removal of the artificial barriers between class and class, and in the diffusion of a general philanthropy, untrammelled by the fetters of any party or race; in short, that to it mainly must be attributed the most important advantages which constitute the superiority of modern over ancient societies. Consciously or unconsciously, the idea of a universal priesthood, of the religious equality of all men—which, though not untaught before, was first embodied in the Church of Christ—has worked, and is working, untold blessings in political institutions and in social life. But the careful student will also observe that the idea has hitherto been very imperfectly apprehended; that, throughout the history of the Church, it has been struggling for recognition, at most times discerned in some of its aspects, but at all times wholly ignored in others; and that, therefore, the actual results are a very inadequate measure of its efficacy, if only it could assume due prominence, and were allowed free scope in action.

“This, then, is the Christian ideal: a holy season, extending the whole year round; a temple confined only to the limits of the habitable world; a priesthood co-extensive with the human race.

“So it was with the Christian priesthood. For communicating instruction, and for preserving public order; for conducting religious worship, and for dispensing social charities, it became necessary to appoint special officers. But the priestly functions and privileges of the Christian people were never regarded as transferred, or even delegated, to these

officers. They are called stewards, or messengers of God, servants or ministrants of the Church, and the like; but the sacerdotal title is never once conferred upon them. The only priests under the gospel, designated as such in the New Testament, are the saints—the members of the Christian brotherhood. . . . As individuals, all Christians are priests alike; as members of a corporation, they have their several and distinct offices. The similitude of the human body, where each limb or organ performs its own functions, and the health and growth of the whole frame are promoted by the harmonious but separate working of every part, was chosen by St. Paul to represent the progress and operation of the Church.”

Part Fourth.

WORSHIP AND DISCIPLINE.

CHAPTER I.

WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

THE conquests of Christianity were the conquests of religious conceptions and ideas which the modern world esteems as superior to those of paganism; and the Christian, as the revelation of God for man's salvation. These conceptions and ideas became incarnate in the historic life of Jesus, who was presented as very God and very man, and so the author of redemption. The Christianity of the early centuries was based on the incarnation, which alone assured complete reconciliation of man with God. Those receiving these truths and ideals necessarily separated themselves from the heathen life and society around them, and from a society with a different social code and a different aim from that into which they had been born. The struggle of that society for union, cohesion, development, and predominance, under a stronger and more centralized form of rule, has been shown in the last chapters. The victory of Christianity was the victory of a firmly-consolidated Church. Christianity, as it came in contact with the unformed elements of social and political order which were taking the place of the old civilization, appeared to the barbarian tribes not so much a system of intellectual truths as an imposing and venerable system of government—the only relic of the world-wide power and

**Influence of
Worship in
the Develop-
ment of the
Church.**

predominance of Rome. So the barbarians were won quite as much to the Church as to Christianity—often-times much more to their own hurt and age-long scandal and loss of Christendom.

But neither the doctrines of the Church nor its order and government would alone have satisfied the new nations which were taking the place of the worn-out populations of the empire. The Teutonic tribes were naturally religious. In depth, purity, and power of religious sentiment, they have seldom been surpassed among the races of mankind. In vain would the religious teachings, or the compact and powerful organization of the Church, have appealed to the Northern invaders, if Christianity had been a philosophy, and not a religion. A religion has worship, and appeals to the perennial needs of the human heart. The worship of the Christians was as much superior to the religious rites of their pagan neighbors as were their doctrines more sublime, and their organization the heir of all the genius for human rule that was ever possessed by Rome as the lawgiver of the world.

While it is always to be borne in mind that the spiritual worship of the Christians was an immense gain for humanity—a gain which can only be apprehended when we contrast it with the religious rites of the pagan Orient—we must not forget that, with the development of doctrine and ecclesiastical organization, there was a like development of Christian worship. This development was in part necessary for meeting the changed conditions of the Church and congregations, and the fulfillment of the mission of the Church to the men of those times. But like all re-

ligious development, unless under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the baser elements inevitably appear. The only development which can honor God must be directed by God. This Divine direction can only be received by a Church predominantly spiritual, quickened and responsive to the influence of the Holy Ghost. On the contrary, the Church, for the three centuries from Constantine until Gregory I, experienced the incoming flood-tide of worldliness and political corruption in consequence of its union with the State, and at the same time the overthrow of the old order, and its replacement by savage hordes, ignorant of letters and the very rudiments of culture. It would be strange indeed if, to the higher purposes of the Divine Spirit, there was not failure of adequate response—if there did not creep in perversions and corruptions. These were not thrown off and corrected until men more in accord with the Spirit of God than was the regular organization of the Church appeared in the Reformation, yet a thousand years in the future.

No adequate conception of the early Church is possible without a knowledge of its worship. In the study of the religious services of the Church will be found set forth in vivid contrast the strength and weakness, the purity and defects, the glory and corruption of the Christianity of the first six centuries.

The development of Christian worship during this period divides itself into four sections:

1. The early Church, 30-170.
2. The old Catholic Church, 170-381.
3. Greek Catholic Church, 381-600.
4. Roman Catholic Church, 381-600.

The first apostles were Jews. Until compelled to separation by persecution, they observed the Jewish Sabbath; the hours of prayer and the temple services, with meetings from house to house of the members of the Christian community for praise and prayer; the love-feast; and the Lord's Supper. (Acts ii, 15; x, 9; xxii, 17; ii, 46; v, 24; and xii, 12.)

Worship of
the Jewish
Christians in
the Apostolic
Age.

When they could no longer worship in the forms to which they and their fathers were accustomed in the temple, whatever of form was taken over into Christian assemblies came from the synagogue rather than from the temple. The service seems to have included prayer, reading of the Scriptures, exposition of the Scriptures read, with exhortation and benediction, and probably singing. There were two parts of the Christian worship which were original and unique, though both based on the Passover Supper. They were the love-feast and the Lord's Supper. These were the distinctive parts of Christian worship. The Lord's Supper was observed as in the presence of the unseen Lord. They, the members of his household, pledged themselves to him; and, by his love being bound to each other, they made remembrance of his death. The performance of this rite enjoined by the risen Lord was preaching the gospel "in the fullest and highest sense, and in the most significant form." The love-feast was the common meal in token of a common brotherhood. It was an unceasing witness to the test of the discipleship applied by the world. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."

The Christians converted from heathenism mingled with a few converted Jews, and were under the guidance of the apostles, or those taught by them. We have a picture of such a Church in Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Worship of
the Gentile
Christians.

The passages relating to Christian worship are: 1 Cor. xiv, 33, 39, 40; xii, 3, 4, 17; xi, 20; xvi, 2, 19. Compare with these Eph. iv, 30; 1 Thess. v, 19; and Rom. xvi, 5.

gentile.

The worship was held usually in the house of some prominent member of the Church. As above, at Corinth and at Philippi; while at Ephesus Paul secured the school of Tyrannus as a place for Christian teaching, whether of worship we can not say. They met on the first day of the week—the Lord's day. (1 Cor. xvi, 2; Acts xx, 7; Rev. i, 10.) The order of worship seems to have been prayer, reading Scriptures, prayer, teaching, prophecy, speaking with tongues, singing. Teaching was probably an exposition of the passage read, with practical applications, the result of reflection and the attainment of knowledge or gnosis. Prophecy was the speaking with authority the will of the Lord, the Spirit directly aiding in the explanation of the Scriptures, the preaching of Christ, or the treatment of present emergencies. Speaking with tongues was the expression of sorrowful or joyful emotions in an ecstatic state, caused by thoughts of heaven and future glory. In time, teaching and prophecy came together, and formed the sermon and exhortation. Speaking with tongues passed into the songs and hymns of the Church.

The love-feast, or Agapæ, was originally a full meal, of which the Lord's Supper was only a part.

The Love-feast. At the beginning of the second century they were separated. Love-feasts continued to be observed until 350-400.

In the worship of the Apostolic Age, the Church comes together as a body of believers, called to be saints, in whom dwells the Holy Ghost. They worship the Lord, crucified and risen, and the Heavenly Father. The purpose of the worship is the edification of believers, and the conversion of those who know not God. The aim is to secure the surrender of the whole body to the Lord, the renewing of the mind, and the doing of the will of God. As a condition to this edification, all things are to be done decently and in order. The Church, as a body of believers, are the children of God, themselves priests, as being in immediate communion with him. Those who speak or take part in the service are called of the Spirit, and through these the mind of the Spirit is made known to the Church.

The chief point in the service is the Lord's Supper—with and through it the preaching of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and thus reconciliation to God and participation in the gift of the Holy Ghost and the fellowship of the brethren. From the following, the example of the Lord at the Paschal Supper, and the statements in 1 Cor. xi, 20 ff., the order of its administration seems to have been as follows:

1. The Eucharistic prayer.
2. Blessing of God on the gifts offered, or benediction.

3. Preaching of the words of Jesus.
4. Consecration of the elements.
5. Breaking of bread.
6. Administering of the cup.
7. Prayer of thanksgiving.
8. Hymns of praise.

There were no special liturgies:

Dr. Plumptre gives this sketch of the Apostolic worship and love-feast:

“The Church meets together in a large room hired for the purpose, or given by one of the more wealthy converts. The materials of the meal were according to the taste and wealth of the community. They would include meat, poultry, fish, cheese, milk, and honey, with, of course, bread and wine. The cost of the meal fell practically on the richer members of the Church, whether it was provided out of the common funds, or from contributions in kind of the provisions suitable. At the appointed hour, they came and waited for each other, men and women being seated at different tables, perhaps, on opposite sides of the room, until the bishop or presbyter of the Church pronounced the blessing. They ate and drank. Originally, at some time before or after the meal, one loaf was specially blessed and broken, one cup passed around especially as the ‘cup of blessing.’ When the meal was over, water was brought, and they washed their hands. Then, if not before, according to the season of the year, lamps were placed on their stands, and the more devotional part of the meeting began. Those who had special gifts were called upon to expound Scripture, or to speak a word of exhortation, or to sing a hymn. It was the natural time for

intelligence to be communicated from other Churches; for letters from them or their bishops to be read; for strangers who had come with Church letters to be received. Collections were made for the relief of distressed Churches at a distance, or for the poor of the district. Then came the salutation—the ‘holy kiss,’ which told of brotherhood—the final prayer, the quiet and orderly dispersion.”

The suspicion of the heathen in times of persecution, the excesses like heathen feasts, the spirit of caste in the Church, and the ascetic ideal which made it obligatory to partake of the sacrament of Holy Communion, fasting, changed this freedom and simplicity of the early Christian worship.

The second century was the Post-Apostolic Age. It saw the conflict with Gnosticism and with Montanism, and the cessation of spiritual gifts. Those specially possessing them—apostles and prophets—flourished in the Church until the casting out of Montanism. The Church met for worship on the first day of the week. So testify Barnabas, Ignatius, Pliny, and Justin. The place of meeting depended upon the extent that the Church enjoyed peace from the persecuting State, whether in public or secret places. The aim is, as before, the building up of the Church and the conversion of those who do not believe. The teaching was given by teachers of the local Church—bishop or presbyters, or prophets or apostles, if any were present. These were evangelists who addressed the people; afterward, any moved by the Spirit might do likewise, but all under the direction of the president or bishop. The service is the immediate act of the

Church in prayer and consecration, and of God with the Church through the word and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as organs of the Holy Spirit. There is no priestly mediation; but the Church is a congregation of priests as the free children of God. The Lord's Supper is no act of merit or necessity before God, but the spontaneous expression of the life of faith in self-surrender and prayer, and in spiritual service, which is the real offering the Christians bring to God.

The purity and simplicity of the Christian worship, as set forth in the Acts and Epistles of the New Testament, and as preserved in the memo- Letter
of Pliny
rials of the Catacombs, awaken the admiration of every devout heart. Nor are we without authentic literary monuments of the worship of the early Church. A heathen governor, writing of the Christians of Bithynia, who were within the sphere of the influence both of St. Paul and St. John, gives an account of Christian worship which had come to his knowledge through the judicial examinations of those condemned to die for the "Name," which can never fail to touch the Christian heart. Pliny, in his letters to Trajan, about 111 A. D., says he was told by those who had worshiped with the Christians that "they were accustomed to meet on a stated day, before sunrise, and to repeat among themselves a hymn to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves, as with an oath (*sacramentum*), not to commit any wickedness; not to be guilty of theft, robbery, or adultery; never to break a promise or withhold a pledge; after which it was their custom to separate, and meet again at a promiscuous, harmless meal." In this account,

Lord's Supper

we see the meeting on a "stated day"—the Lord's-day; the gathering before sunrise, that they might not be disturbed by their heathen neighbors; the singing of a Christian hymn (so hymns, as distinguished from psalms, must date back to the first century); then the participation in the sacrament, with such instruction as made it a real and efficient agent in the moral development of the individual and of the Church; afterward, their coming together again for the love-feast, which made manifest and deepened their Christian fellowship. Such was the worship of the martyr Church of Bithynia. A picture so pure and fair must ever attract the thought and secure the reverence of Christians of every age and clime.

We have the worship of the early Church of about the same date set forth more in detail, and yet with a simplicity as marked, in the "Teaching of the Twelve," A. D. 110: "But on the Lord's-day do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks after confessing your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice may be pure. But every one that hath controversy with his friend, let him not come together with you until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. . . . Now, concerning the Eucharist, thus give thanks; first concerning the cup: 'We thank thee, our Father, for the holy wine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be glory for ever and ever!' And concerning the broken bread: 'We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be glory forever! Even as this broken bread

was scattered over the hills and became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ forever.' But let no one eat or drink of your thanksgiving [Eucharist] except those baptized into the Lord's name. But after ye are filled, thus give thanks: 'We thank thee, Holy Father, for thy Holy Name, which thou didst cause to be tabernacled in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be glory forever. Thou, Master Almighty, didst create all things for thy Name's sake; thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy Servant. Before all things we thank thee that thou art mighty; to thee be glory forever! Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil, and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David! If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent! Maranatha, Amen.' But permit the prophets to give thanks to as much as they desire."

We observe in these directions the assembling on the Lord's-day, and the celebration of the Eucharist, in which confession of sins and reconciliation of the brethren is marked. There is given a short form of prayer for the consecration of the wine and the bread;

then the communion; and after it, the longer prayer of thanksgiving and intercession for the Church. The whole bears the impress of the gathering together of believers for prayer. It is not the worship of the great congregation, and has no kinship to even the oldest liturgies which have come down to us.

Some twenty-five years later, in 135, Justin Martyr gives, in his "Apology" to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, a graphic and touching picture of Christian worship. (Apology I, 6, 7, 65. A. N. F., Vol. I, pp. 185 and 186.)

"And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together in one place, and the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read as long as the time permits. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray; and as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability; and the people assent, saying, Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well-to-do and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succors the orphans and the widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need."

Ensebnell who wrote 50 years before the
Londonian Council) said in which they
my Rome changed the Xian Sabbath, said

making of the patriarchs, "They did not
observe, observe regard circumcision, nor
the sabbath, neither do we."

The celebration of the Lord's Supper is set forth more in detail in the passage to which Justin refers above: "Those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the (newly) baptized (one), and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the Commandments, so that we may be saved with everlasting salvation. Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at his hands. And when he has concluded the prayer and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying, Amen. Those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and the wine mixed with water, over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who were absent they carry away a portion."

In this testimony we have set forth the gathering together on Sunday, the Lord's-day; the reading of the lessons from the Gospels and prophets; the sermon, and the exhortation; the rising, and then the common prayer of thanksgiving and intercession, and the holy kiss; then the consecration of the bread and wine mixed with water (symbolizing the Divine and human natures of our Lord), by the president or presbyter, the people joining in the Amen; the com-

munion, the deacons distributing the elements of the sacrament. The president, presbyter, or bishop, then gives thanks, the people as before responding Amen. We notice the Christian love which prompts a reservation of a portion for those necessarily absent; then the collection for the orphans, widows, sick, poor, the captives, or the strangers sojourning among them. It will be seen that the religion of Justin's time was of a very practical kind, and that the Church always cared for her own poor.

Order of Worship. From these notices we derive the following order of worship in the Post-Apostolic Church :

FIRST PART.

1. Singing a psalm.
2. Reading—Gospels and Prophets.
3. Address of the President—exposition and application of the lesson.
4. The whole Church rises in prayer and intercession for the needs and requests of the Church.

SECOND PART—THE EUCHARIST.

1. The kiss of peace—sign of brotherhood.
2. The offering of the gifts through the deacons (our collection.)
3. Prayer of the President. A threefold prayer of thanksgiving for creation, redemption, and salvation.
 Thanksgiving for the cup.
 Thanksgiving for the bread.
4. Prayer of consecration of the elements.
5. Communion—the bread, and then the wine.
6. Prayer of thanksgiving.
7. Prayer of intercession—"Remember thy Church, O Lord," etc.

CHAPTER II.

WORSHIP OF THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

OUR next period treats of the worship of the old Catholic Church—the period from 170 until 381, or until the settlement of the Arian controversy at the Council of Constantinople. The Church passed through the Septimian, Decian, and Diocletian persecutions, and then rejoiced in the imperial favor and patronage of Constantine, succeeded by the divisions and persecutions of the Arian controversy. These great changes could not but effect the worship. It is a great change indeed from the small houses of prayer to the imperial basilicas, from the persecuted bands of believers to the Church of the court, thronged by the heathen multitude. These things made necessary some changes, and brought in more. The authorities are Tertullian, Cyprian, and the second book of the Apostolic Constitutions. There are two principles of worship in this period, the second of which entirely supplants the first at its end.

First, the conception of the early Church that worship is the act of the Church; the sacrifices which it offers are itself. The only priest between God and his Church is the Lord Jesus Christ. So Tertullian says: "For this is a spiritual sacrifice, which does away with the old sacrifices. . . . We are true worshipers and true priests, who, praying in the spirit, make an offering of prayer, a sacrifice appropriate and accept-

Two Principles of Worship.

able to God." Likewise Irenæus says: "Sacrifices do not sanctify the man; but the conscience of him who offers sanctifies the sacrifice."

The second, which at first lay alongside of the former, even in the same minds, was the conception of worship as consisting in the sacrifice which is the act of the priest, and in which the priest is the mediator between the Church and God. The essence and worth of worship are in the sacrifice, which is the service well pleasing to God, and in the objective performance of which lies its value. The central act of the sacrament becomes, not the participation of the people, but the consecration by the priest. Tertullian makes a sharp distinction between clergy and people, and speaks of offering sacrifice. Cyprian holds that the bishops succeed to the apostolic office, and speaks of celebrating sacrifice and offering the cup of the blood of Christ. To the prevalence of this view contributed the overthrow and reaction against Montanism, the exaltation of the episcopate and the clergy, the influence of the catechumenate forming two classes in the Church, the influence of the penitential discipline, and the carrying over the ideas of priesthood and sacrifice from the Old Testament, and, finally, the influence of the secret discipline and the heathen mysteries.

Tertullian seems to make the intercessions which the Christians make on behalf of emperors and the
 Testimony of Tertullian. peace of the empire, on behalf of enemies, and for fruitful seasons. The commemoration and intercession for the dead take place in connection with the Eucharist. He describes the blessing of the cup in the Lord's Supper as conse-

cration; and the consecration of the bread to be a representation of the Lord's body he held to have been accomplished by the Lord's words, "This is my body."

He states that the Eucharist was administered to all those who were present; for he recommends those who hesitated to be present at the celebration on fast-days, for fear of breaking their fast, to be present indeed, but to reserve the portion which they received. This applies to the bread only. It was consecrated bread, which some were in the habit of putting to their lips before the ordinary meal. The Eucharist was received, not at the usual meal-time—as the Lord's command seemed to require—but in assemblies, before dawn, and from no other hands than those of the presidents. It was given into the hands, and the Christians felt an anxious dread lest any portion of the bread or wine should fall to the ground; for the holy communion was administered under both kinds. Prayers, which are called prayers of sacrifice, followed communion.

Cyprian says that, in the eucharistic action, "because we make mention of his passion in all our sacrifices (for the passion of the Lord is the sacrifice which we offer), we ought to do Cyprian. no other thing than he did; for Scripture says that, so often as we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and his passion, we should do that which it is evident the Lord did (mixing water with wine)." In the eucharistic action, as well as in prayers, intercession was made for brethren suffering affliction, whose names were recited, as were also the names of those who made offerings, and of the dead who had

departed uncensured in the communion of the Church. The liturgical office of the priest seems to be summed up in sanctifying the oblation, in prayers and supplications; and the brethren are admonished that, when they come together to celebrate the divine sacrifices with the priest of God, they should not indulge in noisy and unseemly prayers, a passage which seems to imply that the congregation took a prominent part in the eucharistic service. The deacons presented the cup, after consecration, to those who were present, probably in a certain order; the bread was received into the right hand, and was not unfrequently carried home in a casket.

The Apostolic Constitutions, Book II, says: "After the sacrifice has been made (consecration of the elements), let each rank severally partake of the Lord's body and of the precious blood, approaching in rank with reverence and godly fear, as to the body of a king; and let the women draw near with veiled heads, as befits the rank of women. And let the doors be watched, lest any unbeliever or uninitiated person enter." By ranks, we are no doubt to understand the several orders of the clergy and ascetics, and then laymen and women. Clement, Origen, and Dionysius add nothing worthy of note to the traits presented by these writers.

From Tertullian we learn that, in the intercession, prayer was made in commemoration and for the dead. The consecration of the bread was made in the use of the words, "This is my body." We see the strictness of the fasts and the practice of reserving a portion of the sacrament prevalent in North Africa, and the cele-

bration of the Eucharist in the early morning, as in Justin's time. Christians received the communion in both kinds, and the bread from the hand of the presbyters or bishop in their own hands. Cyprian confirms the statements of Tertullian, and makes mention of mixing the wine with the water; and that the office of presbyter or bishop was confined to the consecration prayers and supplications, as in the "Teaching of the Twelve," and in the time of Justin; and the congregation took part in the prayers after communion, like a modern prayer-meeting. This freedom of worship seems to have become more formal in the directions of the "Apostolic Constitutions;" and yet we see that the spirit, and largely the form, of the service is akin to the earlier usage of the days of Justin Martyr.

In this period, Sunday is the day of Christian worship. Wednesdays and Fridays, the days commemorating the Savior's betrayal and crucifixion, fasting was observed until three o'clock in the afternoon—the hour of his death. In the forty years' peace (263–303), the Christians built large churches and had legal ownership of their cemeteries. Christian worship in this period, as set forth in the second book of the "Apostolic Constitutions," was as follows:

Fasting.

**Order of
Worship.**

FIRST PART.

1. Singing of psalms. Reading two portions from Old Testament.
- Singing. Reading two portions from the New Testament.
2. Addresses—the bishop or presbyters.
3. Common Church prayer. The Church standing facing the east, with upraised arms; the men with uncovered heads, the women veiled.

SECOND PART—THE EUCHARIST.

1. The preparation. Kiss of peace; offering of gifts; Tertullian's prayer for the dead.
 2. The consecration. Prayer of praise and thanksgiving; the Lord's Prayer.
 - (a) Prayer of praise and intercession by the deacon, responded to by the Church.
 - (b) High priestly benediction through the celebrant.
 - (c) Consecration prayer of the bishop.
 - (d) The offering—words of institution.
- Communion, closing with a psalm.

CHAPTER III.

GREEK CATHOLIC WORSHIP.

WE see an established and stately ceremonial when we read the description which Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, gives of the liturgy, as it was actually celebrated there, 350-386 A. D.

After describing the *Sursum Corda*, *Preface*, and *Sanctus*, he proceeds: "Then, after hallowing ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we beseech the merciful God to send forth his Holy Spirit upon the elements displayed upon the table, to make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ; for most certainly, whatsoever the Holy Spirit may have touched, that is hallowed and transformed. Then after that the spiritual sacrifice—the unbloody service—is completed, over that sacrifice of propitiation we beseech God for the common peace of the Churches; for the welfare of the world; for kings; for soldiers and allies; for those in infirmity; for those in special trouble; and generally we all pray for all who need help; and this sacrifice we offer. Then we make mention also of those who have gone to rest before us—first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs—that God, at their prayers and intercessions, would receive our supplications; then also on behalf of the holy fathers and bishops who have gone to rest before us; and generally of all our body who have gone to rest before us,—believing that the greatest benefit will accrue to their souls for whom the

supplication is offered while the holy and most awful sacrifice is displayed. Then follows the Lord's Prayer, and the 'Holy things to the holy ones;' after which ye hear the voice of the chanter, with divine melody, inviting you to partake of the holy mysteries, and saying: 'O taste, and see how good the Lord is!' Permit not the bodily palate—no, but faith unfeigned—to judge of these things; for they who taste are bidden to taste not of bread and wine, but of the copy (*ἀντίτυπος*) of the body and blood of Christ. When you approach, then, draw near, not with the wrists straight out, not with the fingers spread, but making the left hand a throne for the right, as for that which is to receive a king, and hallowing the palm, receive the body of Christ, saying, after the reception, the Amen. Then, after carefully hallowing thine eyes by the touch of the holy body, partake of it, giving heed lest any portion of it fall aside and be lost; for whatsoever thou hast lost, thou hast suffered damage of thine own members. Then, after communicating of the body, draw near also to the cup of the blood, not stretching forth thine hands, but bending, and, with an air of adoration and reverence, saying the Amen, sanctify thyself, partaking also of the blood of Christ. Further, touching with thy hands the moisture remaining on thy lips, sanctify both thine eyes and thy forehead, and the other organs of thy senses. Then, while awaiting the prayer, give thanks unto God, who hath thought thee worthy of so great mysteries." We have here a superstitious reverence for the elements accompanying a teaching of transformation, but not transubstantiation.

Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria had their litur-

gical service. We have no proof of a written liturgy before the fifth century. The great name of this period is Chrysostom; the great Church is St. Sophia, at Constantinople. The usage of the imperial capital prevailed throughout the Greek Church, and in all the lands of its conquests, from the Sea of Kamtchatka to the Adriatic. Its forms of worship are those of the great Sclavic race and Russian Empire. In the conception of Christian worship of this period, priesthood and sacrifice are as much essential factors as they were in the Old Testament theocracy. It completes those by offering a perfect means of salvation and embracing all men.

The essence of the worship is the edification of the people. The service is a symbolic representation. What is executed before the eyes of the devout is not the fact itself, but an intima-
The Greek
Catholic
Conception
of Worship.
tion through symbol and action. It is not the representation of the sacrifice of the Son of God, but the mysterious allegorical representation of the Divine act for the redemption of the world, accomplished by our Lord in the sacrifice of Golgotha and in his glorious resurrection. The worship is carried out without the co-operation of the Church; but it presumes its presence, and without it there is no sense or aim in the dramatic representation. Hence there are no private masses. The Greek conception of the Church in worship is a holy fellowship of initiated or consecrated members, to whom are confided the Divine mysteries, and which is intrusted with consecrated forms. In this it resembles the heathen mysteries. The division of the church, the chancel and the sanctuary; the related action of the priest, deacon,

and choir; the relation between the prayers and the singing,—remind one of the antique classic drama and its chorus.

The Byzantine Church is a many-domed structure; but all parts command a view of the space in front of the altar, which is the stage for the performance of the worship. **Description of the Worship.** The women occupy the galleries; the men, the floor. A wall separates the sanctuary with the altar from the chancel in front of it and the church without. This wall is covered with paintings—Christ on the right hand, Mary on the left, both surrounded with a band of apostles and saints. The frames of these pictures are covered with gold-leaf and ornamented with precious stones. Before this pictured wall, and separated from the rest of the church by a low rail, is the space for the action of the drama of worship. Right and left are great candles. In the light of these, through the splendor of the gold-and-silver-adorned pictures, the priests and deacons exercise their office. At their side stands the choir of singers. The wall inclosing the sanctuary is pierced for three sets of doors from the chancel. The large ones in the center are called the royal doors, and are used only by the priests to pass through, except in Easter-week, when the faithful may enter by them. Usually, they use the doors at the side. Within the sanctuary, at the left or north side, is the table for the offerings; at the right, the diaconicum, or clothing-room for the officiating priest. In the midst is the altar, which symbolizes the holy sepulcher. The silk altar-cloth is consecrated by the bishop. On it is represented the burial of Christ. One of the four ends must contain a martyr's relics.

A cross lies on the altar, before which are lighted candles. On the altar are also the house of the sacrament for the consecrated bread, most richly wrought, and a copy of the Gospels. The celebration of divine worship begins on Saturday evening, the action representing the history of redemption, from the creation until the birth of Christ. The service at six o'clock on Sunday morning represents the history from the birth of Christ until his entrance upon his ministry. The chief service, at ten o'clock A. M., represents the life of Christ, from the beginning of his ministry until his ascension.

The following is the order of the service according to the liturgy of Chrysostom, which is most generally used in the Greek Church, and which dates from the eighth century, though with some later additions, and shows the full development of the liturgical tendencies of the closing centuries of this period:

**Order of
Service in
the Greek
Church.**

A. Mass for the catechumens. (The catechumens are those under instruction, or on probation, in the Church.)

- (a) The officiating priest kisses the altar and Gospel.
- (b) The Litany chanted by the deacons, responded by the choir ("Κύριε ἐλέησον).
- (c) Antiphonal recitation of the holy praises, like a summary preaching of the gospel.
- (d) Little Entrance—The Gospels were joyfully borne into the church; choir; hymns to the Trinity.
- (e) Reading Scriptures.
 1. Epistle through celebrant; responsive hallelujah; Psalmody.
 2. Gospel through the deacon; responsive, "Praise to thee, O Christ!" blessing with trikerion and dike-
rion (two or three fingers); dismissal of catechu-
mens.

B. Mass for the faithful.

- I. Preparation and dressing; silent prayer; spreading out of the antimensium (altar-cloth) upon the altar; choir, song of the cherubim; kindling of the incense; washing of the hands.

Great Entrance—Gifts joyfully placed upon the altar.

Shutting of the holy doors.

Silent prayer.

II. Eucharist.

- (a) Creed—the constitution of catechumens.

(b) Canon—

1. Apostolic benediction.

2. Præfatio.

3. Prayers of the Canon.

- (aa) Thanks for creation; sanctus.

- (bb) Thanks for redemption; offering; response, "Thine of thine;" oblation.

- (cc) Consecration; epiklesis (invocation) of the Holy Ghost.

- (dd) Commemoration (all kneel); hymns of thanks.

- (ee) Prayer for the Church triumphant.

- (ff) Prayer for the communicants.

- (c) Communion—"The holy things to the holy ones;" choir singing.

- (d) Post-communion—Exhibition of the elements; bringing back of the table of oblation; choir, Psalm xlvii; prayer of thanksgiving; benediction; recitation, Psalms xxxiv and cxiii.

Distribution of gifts (antidoron).

Removal of the priestly garments.

Conclusion; dismissal.

Of the effect of such ritualistic service—of the exaltation of ritual as the means of instruction and grace for the people—Professor Harnack says: "Whoever to-day studies the condition of the Greek religion among the orthodox and Monophysites—not the

religion of the ignorant and common people, but also the ritual of worship, the magic ceremonies, and the representations of the common priests and monks—he will, at many places, have the impression that religion can scarcely sink to lower depths. It has really become superstition—a chaos of mixed and wholly heterogeneous but firmly welded sentences and forms; an opaque, variegated, and verbose ritual, highly treasured because it binds the people and the race to each other and to their past, but of which only the inferior parts are yet living. . . . Polytheism, in the full sense of the word, is re-established. Religion has lost contact with spiritual truth. . . . The ritual may always set forth, it may itself include, the sublimest and loftiest thoughts; yet, as a spiritual religion, it has no place, and is a degeneration.”

Yet no one who has seen a congregation at a service of the Greek Catholic Church but must admire their reverence and devotion. Their singing, without the aid of any instrument, is the most magnificent heard in any Christian worship. Among their clergy are many men of large intelligence and deep piety. They have the Scriptures in the language of the people. We can but think that there is among them a greater latent force, which might be used for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God, than anywhere else in Christendom.

CHAPTER IV.

ROMAN CATHOLIC WORSHIP.

IN the Roman Catholic Liturgy there is a real, not symbolic, offering of the New Testament sacrifice, through the priesthood of the New Testament theocracy. All is centered in a real sacrifice, the repetition of that of Golgotha, daily renewed and offered before God. **The Roman Catholic Conception of Worship.** Worship is no longer the act of the congregation, but that of the priest; and its significance as a means of grace is the real mediation of the priesthood. It needs neither the co-operation nor presence of the Church, but is of value in itself; hence the practice of private masses. The Church finds its center in the altar; prayer is concentrated on the sacrifice; and all is the divinely-ordained worship of God.

We give now a comparative view of the chief liturgies. First, the Greek and Roman Catholic in comparison until the Canon of the mass, or the eucharistic service proper. Then we have a comparative view of the old and simpler Ambrosian and Gregorian Canons; then the Mozarabic and Ephesian, from which comes the liturgy of the Church of England; and finally the usage of the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches.

GREEK.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.

I. ACT OF PREPARATION.

I. PREPARATION OF LITURGICAL PERSONS.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) Prayer before the pictures. | (a) <i>Orationes præparatoriæ</i> — |
| (b) Entrance to the sanctuary. | touching the hands. |
| (c) Putting on the vestments. | (b) Putting on the vestments. |
| | (c) <i>Spiritual preparation</i> — |
| | Graduale antiphon, Confiteor. |

2. PREPARATION OF LITURGICAL PLACE.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Pros Komidie (entrance). | Entrance to the place of sac- |
| Preparation of the gifts. | rifice with prayer. |
| (a) Cutting out of the Lamb. | |
| (b) Piercing the Lamb with the holy lance. | |
| Mixing of water and of wine. | |
| Assembly of the Church in prayer about the Lamb. | |
| (c) Placing the gifts on the Discus. | (a) <i>Salutatio</i> . |
| Covering with the holy star, holy covering, incense. | (b) <i>Altar prayer</i> . |
| | (c) <i>Ascendens ad altare</i> . |
| | (d) <i>Inclinatus super altare</i> . |
| | (e) <i>Osculatur altare</i> . |

II. SERVICE OF THE WORD.

A. INTRODUCTION.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ektenie (a litany). | 1. Introit sentence. |
| 2. Antiphons. | 2. Psalm. |
| 3. Beatitudes. | |

With Gloria Patri.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Little Entrance with the Gospels. | 3. Kyrie (rest of the Ektenie corresponds with II A, |
| Trisagion—"Holy, holy, holy." | 1-3.) |
| | Gloria in Excelsis. |

GREEK.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.

B. READING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Salutatio. | 1. Salutatio. |
| Prokeimenon (introductory) passage from the Old Testament. | Collect. |
| 2. New Testament. | 2. Epistle. |
| (aa) Epistle. | Graduale and verse— |
| Psalmody. | Hymn. |
| Hallelujah. | Hallelujah (or Tractus)— |
| (bb) Gospels. | choral response. |
| | Sequence. |
| | 3. Gospels. |
| | “Praise to thee, O Christ!” |

C. PREACHING OF THE WORD—EXPOSITION.

Ektenie (Litany).

Sermon

III. THE ECHARIST.

A. Offering.

(aa) Constituting the offering of the Church.

Silent prayer.

Handwashing—Incense

(Αντήριον.)

(bb) Offering of gifts.

Great entrance.

Mere liturgical, formal, and ceremonial representation of the elements.

The offering of prayer for the bread, water, wine.

Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost.

Purification gifts. Prayer for the acceptance of the Secretu.

Intercession for those excluded from the fellowship

of sacrifice.

Ektenie (Litany).

NOTE.—*Introit* is the anthem at the beginning of the Eucharistic service. *Antiphon* is a psalm, chant, or hymn, sung responsively by two sections of the choir. *Confiteor* is a form of general confession of sins. *Collect* is a short prayer. *Graduale* is an anthem sung after the epistle. *Sequence* is words set to the last notes prolonged of the hallelujah. *Tractus* is a single voice singing the psalm in the midst of the choir. *Epiklesis* is an invocation, usually of the Holy Ghost.

Hence arose the great families of liturgies; for the service of the Christian Church from the days of Constantine to those of Luther was a liturgical service, and came to be a highly-enriched and elaborate ceremonial. This is still the case in the Greek, Oriental, and Roman Catholic Churches; in a lesser degree in the Church of England and her descendants who use her liturgy.

There can be no question of the impression of such a liturgical service on the minds of the unlettered and untutored sons of the forests, who took the place of the proconsuls and patricians of Rome; or of the hold that the great Christian truths so often repeated took on them. And there is a place in all worship for impressiveness and grandeur. "The Lord is in his holy temple," is a magnificent conception, a glorious reality. But with the service in a foreign tongue, it is easy to overestimate the educational or spiritual benefit received, and the tendency to tediousness and unmeaning repetition is great. We can only sketch the characteristics of these great liturgies, and their use in the Greek and Roman and the Episcopal Churches of Protestantism. For while Presbyterianism has its forms of prayer and order of service, they have been far more individual and of the local Church than common to the whole ecclesiastical body or communion. For more convenient reference, we place these directories of worship in a table, side by side, so that the reader may readily observe wherein they are identical, and wherein they differ.

THE GREAT LITURGIES.

AMBROSIAN AND GREGORIAN.	GALLACIAN, MOZARABIC AND EPHESIAN.	ROMAN.	GREEK ORDO. THE GREAT EU- CHARISTIC PRAYER.
Sursum Corda.	Prefatory Prayer. Introit. Gloria in Excelsis.	Prefatory Prayer. Introit. Gloria in Excelsis.	1. The Preface. [Sursum Cor- da.]
Preface.	EPISTLE AND GOSPEL.	EPISTLE AND GOSPEL.	2. The Prayer of the Triumphal Hymn. [Pref- ace.]
Sanctus.			3. The Triumphal Hymn. [Sanctus]
Prayer for the living and for acceptance of the Sacrifice.			4. Commemora- tion of our Lord's Life.
	Oblation of Ele- ments.		5. Commemora- tion of Institu- tion.
	NICENE CREED.	NICENE CREED.	THE CONSECRA- TION.
	Expulsion of Cate- chumens.	Oblation of Ele- ments.	6. Words of Insti- tution of the Bread.
			7. Words of Insti- tution of the Wine.
Oblation.	Prayer for the Church.	Sursum Corda.	8. Oblation of the Body and Blood.
	TRIUMPHAL HYMN.	TRIUMPHAL HYMN.	9. Introductory Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost.
	Prayer for Quick and Dead. Kiss of Peace.	Commemoration of the Living (Te igitur.)	10. Prayer for the Change of Ele- ments.
	COMMEMORATION OF INSTITUTION.	WORDS OF INSTI- TUTION.	THE GREAT INTER- CESSORY PRAYER.
			11. General Inter- cession for the Quick and the Dead.
Prayer for the Dead. Preface to the Lord's Prayer. Embolismus. The Lord's Prayer.	Elevation and Fraction of Host into nine parts. Invocation.	Oblation. Commemoration of the Dead. Union of Conse- crated Elements. Elevation.	12. Prayer before the Lord's Prayer.
	LORD'S PRAYER.	LORD'S PRAYER.	13. The Lord's Prayer.
Communion.	Embolismus. Union of Conse- crated Elements.	Embolismus.	14. The Embolis- mus.
	COMMUNION.	COMMUNION	THE COMMUNION.
	Prayer. Dismissal by the Deacon's Decla- ration. The Mysteries are completed.	Thanksgiving. Dismissal with Blessing.	15. The Prayer of Inclination.
			16. The Holy Things to the Holy Ones and the Elevation of the Host.
			17. The Fraction.
			18. The Confes- sion.
			19. The Commu- nion.
			20. The Antidoron and Prayer of Thanksgiving.

Let us take the Ambrosian and Gregorian form as the simplest. It begins with the *sursum corda*, "Lift up your hearts." Then the preface—that is, a form serving as an introduction to the *anaphora* or *missa fidelium* (mass for believers), consisting of the benediction, as in the Liturgy of St. James, "The love of the Lord and Father, the grace of the Son and God, and the fellowship and gift of the Holy Ghost be with you all." Second, then the *sursum corda* and the response, "We lift them up unto the Lord" (*Habemus ad Dominum*). Third, thanksgiving (*Deo gratias—eucharistia*), "Let us give thanks unto the Lord!" Response, "It is meet and right"—Liturgy of St. Chrysostom—"It is meet and right to worship Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the consubstantial and undivided Trinity." Fourth, the contestation, the preface proper and equal to the Great Entrance of the Greeks, was originally bringing in of gifts. Roman words: "It is very meet and right, just and wholesome we should always and everywhere give thanks to thee, O Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God, through our Lord Christ," the meet and right of Ritual of the Church of England. Then follows the *sanctus*, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty." (Trisagion.)

Oblation is a consecration of the elements, sometimes a short prayer being added. Preface to the Lord's Prayer, the Roman form is: "Let us pray. Being taught with the precepts of salvation, and trained with the divine institution, let us dare to speak,"—the Lord's Prayer, by the priest. Embolismus; that is, an inserted prayer—the name given to the prayer which in almost all ancient liturgies

follows the Lord's Prayer, founded on one or both of the last petitions. It was usually repeated by the priest in a low voice, symbolizing the silence in which our Lord lay in the grave. From the Church of Jerusalem we have the following form: "And lead us not into temptation, O Lord, the Lord of hosts, who knowest our infirmity; but deliver us from the evil one, and his works, and every assault and will of his, for the sake of the Holy Name which is called upon our lowliness!"

The Ephesian liturgy is next, from which comes that of the Church of England, which is the source of that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The following elements are added to the Ambrosian rite. The introit is the anthem at the beginning of the eucharistic office. There is added:

Gloria in Excelsis.

Epistle and Gospel.

Nicæan Creed. Expulsion of catechumens.

Kiss of peace.

Elevation and fraction of the host (the consecrated bread)
into nine parts. Union of the consecrated elements.
Prayer. Dismissal.

In the Roman service are added no new elements, though there is given a different order. The same is true of the Greek ritual, though there is a greater elaboration of the parts.

A scholarly American writer has said: "The thought of the liturgy of the Greek Church is the Divine manifestation in effecting the work of human redemption, extending from the act of creation, through all the intervening dispensations, to the life

of Christ, from his birth to his glorification. Every prayer, lesson, antiphonal, or chant; every posture, action, change of vestments, shifting of colors, etc., are so many symbols to illustrate the unfolding history of redemption. In the Latin Church the entire liturgy centers in one thought of supreme interest—the atoning sacrifice of Christ—veritably repeated at every mass. With variety in secondary parts, during the changing festivals of the year, the point around which the whole system revolves, and toward which every member points, is the sacrificial offering of Christ in the mass by the officiating priest, and the appropriating of its benefits by the worshipping Church.”

In regard to the doctrine underlying all this ritual, Cyprian is the first who speaks of the priest offering a sacrifice in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The fathers inclining toward transubstantiation are Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom in the East, and Hilary and Ambrose in the West. In the symbolic school are reckoned Basil, Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Augustine.

Doctrine
of the
Sacrament.

Gregory the Great taught that in the Lord's Supper the sacrifice of Christ is actually repeated, and his doctrine has become the (Roman) standard.

Not until the fourth century was it regarded as essential that both celebrant and recipient should be fasting at the time of communion. Tertullian and Cyprian seem to favor it, and it was commanded by Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine.

Baptism was the most significant rite of the Christian Church. It marked the decisive moment when the heathen broke with his old life

Baptism.

and society, the idolater with his old religion and worship; the hour when he put on the new life, became a member of the new society, and an heir of heaven. The Church, at the administration of this sacrament, prayed that he might receive the Holy Ghost; the presbyter or bishop placed his hands on his head, in token of the bestowal of the heavenly gift. This afterward became separated from baptism, and became the rite of confirmation. The candidate, on his part, renounced the devil and his works, the world and the flesh, and professed his acceptance of the common faith of the Church in the Creed used at baptism. Those to be baptized were clothed in white, and all the surroundings were such as to lend impressiveness to the act, as we see in the baptism of Clovis, pp. 101-2. The effect upon the recipient can not be imagined by one brought up in a Christian land. All former sins were believed to be washed away. So taught the "Shepherd" of Hermas, 130. Later, a magical efficacy was attached to the sacrament, like the initiation to the heathen mysteries. It was spoken of as "initiation," "illumination," etc. Most of the fathers, after 200, taught baptismal regeneration. It remained the turning-point in the life of the believer—the decisive breaking from the old life, and the beginning of the new.

The Eucharist was first celebrated on the Lord's-day. Then, also, on the fast-days—Wednesdays and Fridays; in the East, also on Saturday.

Time and Method of Celebration. When Christianity became supreme, daily celebration became usual. In the Apostolic Age, the hour was at the evening meal; Pliny says before dawn. In the third century, Tertullian,

Cyprian, and others speak of the same practice. Cyprian, the morning for public and solemn communion. When the Church triumphed, set hours began to be appointed. They were at first nine o'clock; on ordinary feast-days, at twelve; on fast-days, at three in the afternoon.

It is believed no regularly-prescribed liturgies were in use in the ante-Nicæan period. No elevation of the host, or its adoration, are known in the writings and monuments of the first six centuries; no use of ceremonial lights until after 300.—Jerome favors them, 378; no use of incense for the first four hundred years. The Agapæ, or love-feasts, continued to be observed until 391; no private mass, where the priest alone received the elements, in this period. The celebrating of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was (29-350) the supreme object of all meetings of the saints.

Should any one dwelling in town absent himself for three Sundays from the Church, he should, for a time, be suspended from communion. The laity received both bread and wine in the sacrament of the holy communion until the twelfth century.

Adult baptism was the more common for the first six centuries. It was often postponed until just before death. The nature and duration of instruction before baptism varied with cir-
Baptism.
 cumstances—from a few days to two or three years. Infant baptism is attested from 250. From the fourth century, the propriety of infant baptism was unquestioned, and the practice was not unusual. The duty of performing baptism pertained to the episcopal office, and could be discharged by the bishop, and

by those only to whom his right was delegated. So in the East and West, in the first six centuries, though others, even laymen, baptized in cases of necessity.

The apostolic mode, ordinarily, was by immersion;* but this was not exclusively the case. The "Teaching of the Twelve," ch. vii, thus provides: "And concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. But before the baptism, let the baptizer fast, and the baptized, and whatever others can; but thou shalt order the baptized to fast one or two days before."

The early Church practiced trine immersion. Dr. Bennett says: "We are compelled to believe that, while immersion was the usual mode of administering baptism from the first to the twelfth century, there was very early a large measure of Christian liberty allowed in the Church, by which the mode of baptism could be adjusted to the peculiar circumstances. To this conclusion we are led by the combined testimony of the 'Teaching of the Twelve,' of the decisions of the Church fathers and the Councils, and of the uniform art representations."

Preaching took place on Sundays, fast-days, great festivals, and fasts in Lent. In Africa, the preacher sat, while the congregation stood. In the

Preaching.

East, both sat, as did Chrysostom. Preaching was, in the earliest age, especially the duty of the

* See Appendix, Note B.

bishop. It was reserved wholly to him in the African Churches. In the East, presbyters were more generally permitted to preach. Chrysostom preached most of his sermons as a presbyter. Primarily, the power and duty was in the bishop; but he might, and usually did, authorize presbyters who were capable to preach. Monks and other laymen, as Origen, were sometimes permitted to preach in the East, but not in the West. No sermons by any Roman bishop are extant before Leo I. The apostles, bishops, and presbyters of the earlier ages—Origen, Augustine, Tertullian, Athanasius, and Jerome—were extempore preachers; Basil, the two Gregories, and Chrysostom preached written sermons. Preaching passed into disuse in the Roman Church, toward the end of this period. The influence of barbarians who could not understand Latin, and preachers who could not use the Teutonic tongues, contributed to this result.

The earliest feasts of the Church—the Passover, Pentecost, and Easter—were observed from its birth. With the former would be associated the events of our Lord's passion, and with the latter his ascension. Palm Sunday was observed in the Greek Church in the fourth century. In the early part of the third century, we find notices of the fast before Easter. Irenæus and Tertullian speak of it as a fast of one or two days, or of forty hours. Generally, it corresponded to the time the Savior lay in the grave. Toward the end of this period, it was a Lenten fast of approximately forty days. Leo I speaks of ember days—that is, days of fasting—in relation to the four seasons. They seem not to have secured any general observance in this period. The

Roman custom was to observe as fast-days the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays of the first week in Lent, and the weeks succeeding the festival of Pentecost, and the 14th of September, and the 13th of December. Epiphany—the feast of the manifestation of God at the baptism of our Lord—was observed in the East, from about the close of the second century, on the 6th of January. Christmas is earliest noticed as a festival of the birth of the Lord Jesus Christ, on December 25th, in the pontificate of Liberius, 352–366, at Rome. It was not celebrated independently of Epiphany, in the East, until the last quarter of the fourth century. In the West, the feast of Epiphany was celebrated from 360. It came, in that part of the Church, to refer to the visit of the magi. The Christmas festival, extending to January 6th in the latter part of this period, came to be preceded by fifty days of special prayer, known as the Advent.

Sunday, from apostolic times, was observed as the Lord's-day—the day of Christian worship. It was made a day of rest from labor—all but that necessary for agriculture—by a law of Constantine, 321. Wednesdays and Fridays were the ordinary fast-days of the Church.

Hours of Prayer. The hours for prayer observed by those especially given to the religious life and in the monasteries were:

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. Nocturnas, | 12 Midnight. |
| 2. Matina-Laudes, | 3 A. M. |
| 3. Prima, | 6 A. M. |
| 4. Tertia, | 9 A. M. |
| 5. Sextia, | 12 A. M. |
| 6. Nona, | 3 P. M. |
| 7. Vespers, | 6 P. M. |
| 8. Completorium or compline, | 9 P. M. |

CHAPTER V.

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

THE Church being a voluntary association, and inviting all to receive the gospel and become members of the society of believers, there must be some means of discipline to preserve the moral purity of the brotherhood. The method of Peter, in dealing with Ananias and Sapphira, could not be of universal application. Therefore, the Church, from the first, possessed and exercised this right in accordance with the precept of our Lord in Matt. xviii, 15-17. Paul gives an instance in detail in the fifth chapter of First Corinthians, and 2 Cor. ii, 5-10. He lays down the general rule in 2 Thess. iii, 6, 14, 15. With this agrees 3 John 10. The exclusion from the Church, and so throwing back into the world, is called delivering over to Satan, because the powers which rule the moral world outside of the Church are considered as hostile to God. This act, and the release from it, or absolution, is the act of the Church—generally of the body of presbyters, under the direction of the bishop. Of course, the apostles, as the source of the gospel preaching, had original jurisdiction in cases of discipline. The offender was expected to acknowledge his sin with public humiliation and penitence. This confession and satisfaction to the community or brotherhood which he had disgraced by his fall were

**Discipline in
the Early
Church.**

the indispensable conditions of his absolution. The gross or mortal sins were idolatry, murder, adultery, and fornication. With idolatry was, of course, classed apostasy, and, later, heresy.

The early view was, that all sins are forgiven in baptism. Hermas, A. D. 130, held that it was possible to forgive sin—gross sin—once after baptism, the view generally being that Christ might forgive sins at the end of life, but that the Church could not, though Irenæus teaches that for “those who now sin Christ will die no more, but will come as judge and demand an account; therefore, be not proud, but afraid, lest, after having known Christ, doing something displeasing to God, we should have no further remission of sins.”

The Montanist controversy makes an era in the history of penitence. Previous to 150, there is no instance of readmission to the Church of **Effect of Montanism.** a gross sinner, except through the intercession of a confessor or prophet. To that date, public penance was a help, but not a commandment. So Tertullian denies that the bishop, representing the Church, can exercise discipline, the power of binding and loosing—or the power of the keys, as it is called from Matt. xvi, 19; xviii, 18; and John xx, 23—but that the Holy Spirit in the Church can do this only through the Montanist prophet. Callistus, Bishop of Rome, declared that he conferred pardon for the sins of adultery and fornication on the ground of repentance rendered. Tertullian denounced this action; and Hippolytus was driven to the formation of a schismatic Church; the latter expressly saying that Callistus is the first to extend such forgiveness. The

power of the bishop prevailed, and Montanism was overthrown. The Decian persecution caused a further advance in Church discipline. Cyprian is the father of the penitential discipline of the ancient Church, and it is closely connected with his views of the powers of the bishop and the doctrine of the sacrifices in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The fundamental rule of the priestly system of penance is, that the Spirit accompanies the office, irrespective of the character of the person who fills it. As a consequence, Church penitence came to be looked upon as a healing medicinal act, more than as showing repentance, or as a penalty for gross sins. The penitential system, founded from 250-500, then began to decay, and after 600, was all but dead.

Penitence
after
250 A. D.

We have, up to the beginning of this period—(a) Suspension from communion for a fixed period; (b) This suspension from communion and from the prayers of the Church, together with definite acts of penance; (c) Excommunication, either final, or with the condition that the offender might be readmitted by means of penitence.

At the time of Cyprian, the sentence of penitence did not exceed one or two years. It was regarded as a privilege and concession, cautiously granted, as it was administered but once. Penitence was voluntary for the most part, the time of its duration being determined by the earnestness of the repentance and the discretion of the bishop. Of this discipline, Tertullian and Cyprian speak in terms which show its depth and genuineness.

“Penitence is a discipline for the abasement and

humiliation of man, enjoining such conversation as **Tertullian on** inviteth mercy. It is directed, also, even **Penitence.** in the matter of dress and food—to lie in sackcloth and ashes; to hide his body in filthy garments; to cast down his spirit with mourning; to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he hath committed; for the rest, to use simple things for meat and drink, to-wit, not for the belly's, but for the soul's sake; for the most part, also, to cherish prayer by fasts; to groan, to weep, and to mourn night and day unto the Lord his God; to throw himself upon the ground before the presbyters, and to fall on his knees before the beloved of God, to enjoin all the brethren to bear the message of his prayer for mercy." (Tertullian, *De Pœnitentia*, ch. ix.)

"Men must pray and entreat with increased continuance; pass the days in mourning, and the nights in vigils and weeping; employ their whole **Cyprian.** time in tears and lamentations; lie stretched on the ground; prostrate themselves among ashes, sackcloth, and dust; after Christ's raiment lost, wish for no garment beside; after the devil's feast, must voluntarily fast; give themselves to righteous works, whereby sins are cleansed; apply themselves to frequent almsgiving, whereby souls are freed from death." (Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, ch. xxi.)

The penitential discipline of the Church, or public penance, was elaborated at the Councils of Neo-Cæsarea and Ancyra, in 314. This took the place of the indefinite period of penitence fixed by the earnestness of the repentance of the penitent and discretion of the bishop. Now penitence became a penal sentence, which was to be

**The
Penitential
System.**

worked out by certain appointed stages—so many years to be passed in one stage under certain conditions; so many years in another, with a relaxation of the conditions, the latter stage not to be begun until the earlier one was completed; and so, step by step, the outcast was restored to full communion. This system lost its vigor in the early part of the fifth century, through the abolition of the office of penitential presbyter, who had charge of it. The system, with its stations, was as follows:

The first station was that of the mourners (*fientes*). The position of mourners was the position of those whose penitence had already begun. The ^{(a) Mourners,} mention of the name is rare among early authorities; and it is not likely that the thing itself was frequently imposed. It was a part of the scheme and framework of the system, held in reserve rather than commonly inflicted. In the appointment of the ancient churches, there was an open area or space set apart in front of the door. All who entered the church necessarily entered through this area or approach. This was the place assigned to the mourners, and beyond it they were forbidden to pass. The mourners, being placed outside the very doors of the church, could take no part in what was going on inside. They were cut off from all sacred rites whatever. They could hear neither the reading of the Scriptures nor the preaching; still less could they join in the prayers and the sacred mysteries.

There is no express mention of any austerities peculiar to the second station. The hearer ^{(b) Hearers} is within the door, in the narthex, or porch, ^{(Audientes).} of the church, where he could listen to the Scrip-

tures and the sermon. In some buildings he might be able to hear while standing in the vestibule; but, as a rule, his place must have been assigned within the building, at the lower end of the church.

The Kneelers occupied the third station in the Eastern system. In the Western, it was not only the principal, but in general practice must have been the only one, except, perhaps, that of Bystanders. Their position was within the door of the church, so that they might go out with the catechumens. They stood within the walls of the building, in the part below the ambo or reading-desk. The kneelers were again recognized as a part, though an erring part, of the Christian fold. The delinquent, in this stage of penitence, was arrayed in sackcloth. Sozomen (vii, 16) gives this account: "In the Western Church, and especially at Rome, the place in which the penitents stand is visible to all. They take up their position in it, distressed and sorrowful. When the liturgy is finished, as they may not share in the public mysteries, they throw themselves prostrate on the ground with cries and tears, when the bishop, in his compassion, coming to them, falls likewise by their side, raising his voice with theirs, till at length the whole congregation is dissolved in tears. After this, the bishop is the first to rise, and to take them by the hand; and when he has offered the prayers suitable for sinners performing penance, he dismisses them from the church."

The last penitential station was that of Bystanders. They stood together with the faithful, communicating with them, but in prayer only; and not being dismissed before the eucharistic service, their position was above the ambo.

At the end of our period, public penance came into disuse. There were exhortations to private confession, but this was voluntary. There is no trace of compulsory auricular confession in this period.

Such has been the course of the development of Christian worship and the discipline of penitence in the ancient Church. Through this, which lay nearest the people's heart and daily life and thought, rather than through any doctrinal error, came the superstitions and corruptions of the later centuries of this period. The discipline of penance was looked upon as a medicine for the sins of the daily life. Pardon for sins after baptism was supposed to be secured by daily repentance and prayer—the five prayers of the Church, its fasts and offerings. In time, to the reception of the sacrament and as a preparation thereto, came the discipline of penitence, which, not in this period but in the Church of the Middle Ages, developed into the compulsory practice of auricular confession; *i. e.*, private confession to a priest.

Effect of the
Discipline
of Penitence.

The effect this discipline was supposed to secure was peace of soul to the penitent. On the contrary, the peace and joy of God's children fled from his Church. It has been so in every age. Spiritual advice and counsel are given the believer in the fellowship and watch-care of the Christian Church. Such counsel and admonition form one of the highest privileges and most solemn duties of the Christian pastorate. But God alone can forgive sin, and the assurance of his Spirit can alone comfort the penitent and the sorrowing. The High-Church movement of our time, with its sacramental system of doctrine, its elab-

orate ritual and minute ceremonial, has sought to revive a system of Church penitence and priestly confession and absolution. With it, as with its prototype in the early Church, success has been the death-blow to Christian peace and joy. The father of this movement in Protestantism was Dr. E. B. Pusey. That he was a man of real holiness of life only makes more evident the tendency of these teachings. His own words will show most faithfully the effect of this system. Of his own religious experience he writes, September 26, 1840: "My dear wife's illness [she died a year before the date of this letter] first brought to me what has since been deepened by the review of my past life; how, amid special mercies and guardianship of God, I am scarred all over and seamed with sin, so that I am a monster to myself. I loathe myself; I can feel of myself only like one covered with leprosy from head to foot. Guarded as I have been, there is no one with whom I do not compare myself, and find myself worse than they; and yet, thus wounded and full of sores, I am so shocked at myself that I dare not lay my wounds bare to any one: I dare not so shock people."

After choosing his intimate friend, Keble, the author of the "Christian Year," as his confessor, he framed a set of rules for his daily life. The following are some of them: "To aim to offer all acts to God, and to pray for his grace in them before commencing them; as, conversations; while people are coming into a room or before I enter a room; each separate letter which I write; each course of study; and in the course of each of these, if continued long; and His pardon at the end, and note down omissions. Never,

if I can, to look at beauty of nature without inward confession of unworthiness. To make mental acts, from time to time, of being inferior to every one I see. To drink cold water at dinner, as only fit to be where there is not a drop 'to cool this flame.' To make the fire to me from time to time the type of hell. Always to lie down in bed, confessing that I am unworthy to lie down except in hell, but so praying to lie down in the Everlasting Arms." He desired "not to smile if he could help it, except with children, or when it seems a matter of love, like one just escaping out of the fire." He wore a hair shirt in the daytime unless ill, used a hard seat by day and a hard bed by night. He considered his wife's death, his suspension from preaching by the university for teaching false doctrine, and the death of his daughter, as punishments for his sins. However much there is to be granted to that spiritual vision which, the clearer it becomes and the nearer we get to God, leads to the abhorrence of one's self in dust and ashes; and however valuable are these habits of self-recollection and self-restraint to any real holiness of character, and however much better overscrupulousness may be than a careless and ease-loving forgetfulness of God in the daily life,—yet it must be said that there is no warrant for this legalism and lifelong aspect of penitence in the New Testament. Paul passed out of the seventh into the eighth chapter of Romans, and did not wear a hair shirt when he wrote the Epistle to the Galatians. The freedom of Christ's Spirit, and the brotherhood with him in the Father's house, is exchanged for a yoke of servitude. The assurance and joy of the Christian life are not in the sacra-

ments, but in Christ himself. Not penance, but his word abiding, gives peace. This is the Christian faith.

The greatest corruptions of this period came from that which was most sacred, the worship of the Church. The development of liturgy at the close of the period caused the cessation of preaching, as a rule, at the public service. This was especially the case with the Greek Church, with its more elaborate ritual. At the same time, in the East, the ritual was in the language of the people, and the laity were better educated, and so retained the use of the Holy Scriptures. In the West, Latin was retained as the language of the Church service, while both the service and the Scripture were in a tongue foreign to the speech of the people. The first translation of the Bible in the Latin Church into the language of any of the Teutonic peoples—Wycliffe's—was nearly eight hundred years later.

With preaching and the Scriptures withdrawn from the people, the influence of the Church became almost altogether legal, or even magical, the spiritual and even intellectual influence almost altogether failed. Then the extravagant language used in the liturgies, or by the preachers, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, tended to convert the most solemn and pathetic service of the Church into a magical rite, and the extravagance of liturgical statement became the doctrine of the Church.

Alongside of this perversion of what was holiest in the Church, the worship of her Lord, came the influence of heathen elements, which not only corrupted

the spiritualty of worship, but brought in polytheism instead of the worship of the Christian's God, one and triune.

These corruptions came into the Church after the time of Constantine. It was not strange that immediately after the most prolonged and severest of the persecutions that the Church should reverence the martyrs who had died for the faith. The day of their martyrdom was celebrated as their birthday, and feasts were held at their graves. Augustine tells us of his mother, the saintly Monica, that, "as was the custom in Africa, she bore to the memory of the martyrs sacrificial beer, bread, and unmixed wine." Yet this was very like the heathen sacrifices at the graves of their dead. Splendid churches were erected over the places of the martyrs' burial, as over the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, and of many others.

From the veneration of the martyrs came the invocation of the martyrs and of the saints. Legends of their lives and mighty works were received as Holy Scripture, and recited at the feast-day set apart for their commemoration. They were supposed to have power to bless or injure. With the martyrs, they took the place of the old heathen heroes and city founders. So churches, communities, and cities came to have patron saints. In this way, as with the old heathen mythology, the helpful powers were classified and localized. To relics of the martyrs were added those of the saints. These were almost indispensable to the consecration of a church, and were greatly prized by heathen converts of royal or noble birth or station. Often they were

used as protective charms, like the heathen amulets. With this veneration of relics, mostly spurious, grew the desire to make pilgrimages to the holy places.

The life of the monks was no offensive novelty to those who knew the heathen ascetics, while the idea of virginity, on which rested the conventual life of the nuns, was familiar for centuries through the Vestal Virgins. So with the increasing reverence of the Virgin Mary, culminating in the feast of the Purification on February 2d, sanctioned by the Emperor Justinian, 542, and of her Ascension, or Assumption, August 15th, by Emperor Maurice, 582-602. To her came naturally those ideas long associated with the worship of Astarte, Isis, and Cybele.

In like manner with many of the insignia and vestments of the clergy. The miter of the bishop was taken from the head-dress of the Persian priests; the scarlet robes of the cardinal from those of the heathen priest, the Roman flamen. The alb, a white linen tunic with sleeves reaching to the feet, was an Egyptian sacred dress. The dalmatic, a short-sleeved shirt, was worn by Commodus and Elagabalus, and is now the outer garment worn by the deacon at the Roman Catholic mass.

Thus says Schultze: "The worship of the Christians had elements which, in their outward appearance, or in their contents, or both, must have seemed familiar to the heathen. So with the old names—temple, holy temple area, the all-holiest, and the altar of sacrifice. The table form of the Christian altar gave way in the fourth century to a stone altar, which

reminded more of the antique altar. There, in the liturgical language, they spoke of offering and sacrifice, and the action of sacrifice was really exhibited. Also the name *sacerdos*, for the Christian priest, turned back to the word of antiquity. In the worship itself there did not fail the use of incense, which indeed had been the case of the Old Testament rites, but which yet was in union with the antique (heathen) worship."

It is not intended to convey the impression that these heathen influences were the only ones that wrought these transformations in the Church. Some of them are as old as human nature, and found in every religion of mere human development. Others were from the influence of a time when culture and intellectual life paled before the advancing floods of barbarism; some from an attempt to adapt to the Church some features of the Jewish ritual; but circumstances made the polytheistic trend of the heathen influence strong and effective.

This chapter on Christian worship may well close with a sketch of the greatest of Christian preachers, one of the holiest of men, and whose service in the ordering of Christian worship is recognized Chrysostom.
His Life. in the name given to the liturgy most in use in the Greek Catholic Church. John, surnamed Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth, was born at Antioch in 347. Secundus, his father, was a military officer of high rank. Anthusa, his mother, was left a widow at twenty years of age. She was wealthy, intelligent, devout, and devoted herself to the training of her son. She appears to have been superior to the women of her time, who were uneducated, kept in

unnatural seclusion until marriage, and often treated by their husbands with severity and distrust. John had as teacher the most famous rhetorician of his time, Libanius. At the age of twenty-three he became a Christian, and was baptized. He wished to abandon secular life and become a monk. His mother took him into the room where he was born, and implored him to remain with her, who had given her life for him, until her death. He yielded to her pleadings, but at her death carried out his purpose, and began the life of a monk in 375.

For six years he remained with the community, or until 381, when, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, he was ordained deacon. Five years later, when **His Work at** forty, he was ordained presbyter. After **Antioch.** serving as deacon, he devoted his life to preaching. For seventeen years he labored in Antioch, and six in Constantinople, and became the most famous preacher of all the Christian ages. Augustine, Leo, and Ambrose and Cæsarius of Arles were the great preachers of the West; but none of these, nor the great preachers of the East, with Gregory Nazianzen at their head, approached the abundance, the variety and excellence of the great presbyter of Antioch. In a sedition in a circus at Antioch, in 387, the statues of the Emperor Theodosius and his wife were overthrown, and the emperor was justly incensed. While the populace was awaiting the punishment of their misdeeds, which the Bishop Flavian exerted himself to avert, John preached to the people his justly celebrated sermons on the "Statues." He led the people to penitence, comforted them in their suspense, and exhorted them to perseverance in good

works when arrived the news of their pardon. While in Antioch, he wrote the treatise on "The Priesthood," the most of his "Commentaries," and the most renowned of his sermons. On the twenty-first of February, 398, in his fifty-first year, without effort on his part, he was consecrated Archbishop and Patriarch of Constantinople.

The last ruler of the undivided Empire of Rome was dead, and the Government had fallen into the feeble hands of Arcadius, the son of Theodosius the Great—hands too weak to hold the reins, which were seized by court favorites or by his ambitious wife. The first of these favorites was Rufinus, master of offices, and who, on the death of Theodosius, became regent of the East. Rufinus was an able man, but one of the most avaricious, unscrupulous, and treacherous characters of a time when baseness and violence ruled in the public service. He was killed by the soldiers of Gainas, a Gothic general, November 27, 395. Eutropius, the eunuch, succeeded to the vacant post. He had supplanted Rufinus, who intended his daughter to be the imperial consort of Arcadius. Eutropius secured his marriage with Eudoxia, an able and ambitious woman, the daughter of a Frankish general, April 25, 395. Further to secure his position, Eutropius called to the capital the celebrated preacher of Antioch. At first, Chrysostom was favored by the empress. Eutropius, for his misrule, was banished to Cyprus, and afterward brought back to Heraclea, and executed, 399. The Gothic General Gainas was defeated and killed in an insurrection, December 23, 401. From henceforth the will of Eudoxia was supreme in the State.

The strict preaching of Chrysostom alienated her from him. Theophilus, the great Patriarch and Primate of Alexandria, had consecrated John as Archbishop of Constantinople. He was envious that the new patriarch had been taken from Antioch instead of Alexandria. His one desire was to make Alexandria the great See of the East. In 401, some monks, called the "Tall Brothers," came to Constantinople, and complained of ill usage from Theophilus. Chrysostom, while respecting their excommunication, interceded for them. Theophilus answered him angrily. Eudoxia heard their story, and summoned Theophilus to Constantinople to answer for his conduct. In the meantime Chrysostom made a tour of three months in Asia Minor, deposing immoral bishops, and setting the affairs of the Churches in order, and, at the same time, raising up a host of enemies against himself. During the absence of Chrysostom, the emissaries of Theophilus won the empress to his side.

He came, accompanied by Epiphanius, and, with rich gifts, wrought upon the bishops and the court. He scorned to plead to the charge against him, but proceeded to act as a judge, calling a Council at a country estate of the empress near Constantinople, called The Oak, June, 403, to inquire into the orthodoxy of Origen, and to hear complaints against Chrysostom. The patriarch of the capital refused to appear at a Council packed by his enemies. The question of the orthodoxy of Origen was dropped; and Epiphanius, seeing through the intrigues of Theophilus, sailed for Cyprus, but died on the way. The Council of The Oak deposed Chrysostom for maladministration, and handed him over to

the emperor on a veiled charge of treason, which it was hoped would lead to a sentence of death. Chrysostom withdrew into banishment; but thoroughly frightened by an earthquake, the empress recalled him in three days. In spite of his endeavors, Chrysostom's return was a triumphal entry. Theophilus fled to Alexandria. In September of the same year the statue of the empress was erected in the square in front of the great door of the church. Chrysostom preached against it as a manifestation of pride and vanity amounting to sacrilege. The wrath of the empress was inappeasable. She heard, falsely however, that in a public discourse he had compared her to Herodias seeking the head of John. From henceforth reconciliation was impossible. John had not waited for the annulment of the decree, unjust and invalid, of the Council of The Oak.

On that charge, he was again deposed, and, in Easter week, arrested and carried away to banishment to Cucusus on the Armenian frontier. Chrysostom appealed to Innocent I of Rome, who **Banishment and Death.** recognized his orthodoxy, and, with the Emperor Honorius, demanded his return. On the way to Cucusus, his guards treated him with brutal severity, seeking to end his days on the journey. He was kindly received at Cucusus. Friends from Antioch visited him; and he kept up a constant correspondence with his flock, from whom he had been torn. Well has it been said that these three years were the most glorious of his life. The Empress Eudoxia died six months after his banishment; but his enemies only added to the severity of his treatment. In the winter of 405-6 he was taken to the

mountain town of Arbissus, sixty miles from Cucusus. There, in the bitter winter weather, and amid more savage men, John, a native of sunny Antioch, suffered severely, and his ever-feeble health was greatly impaired. On returning to Cucusus, he revived again, and hoped yet to resume his work at Constantinople. His enemies now secured his banishment, in 407, to Pityus, the most inhospitable spot in the empire, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. The guards who were to enforce the decree spared no pains to hasten the death of the illustrious prisoner. In great weakness, as he passed through Comana, he asked the guards to delay the journey; but they hurried on. He fainted in the way, and was carried back to the monastery. Asking for white garments, he distributed his own raiment among the clergy who were present. Having received the Eucharist, he spoke a few farewell words, and repeating his favorite motto, "Glory be to God for all things, Amen," went to be with his Lord.

The letters of Chrysostom, written in his banishment, even more than his sermons, testify to his genuine and exalted Christian character. Equally

His eminent as a preacher and saint, he wrought
Character. in a generation unworthy of him. The place he was called to fill was most difficult. Few could have succeeded; but by temperament and race he was unfitted for such a struggle. Great orators are seldom leaders of men. Demosthenes, Cicero, Peter the Hermit, and even Savonarola, are significant examples. The gifts of moderation, judgment, and decision are not those by which an orator gains success. On the other hand, no Roman or English pre-

ate, after his return from banishment, would so soon, or so helplessly, have been at the mercy of his foes.

Chrysostom is represented as small in stature, his frame attenuated by the austerities of the monastery and his habitually ascetic mode of living, his cheeks pale and hollow, his eyes deeply set, but bright and piercing, his broad and lofty forehead furrowed by wrinkles, his head bald. He frequently delivered his discourses sitting in the reading desk, in order to be nearer to his hearers and well raised above them. His health was not good; his digestion never recovered from his life in the monastery, and perhaps caused an irritability of temper, of which his enemies complained.

**Personal
Appearance.**

The source of his power in the pulpit was his unrivaled knowledge of the Scriptures. The six years spent in the monastery gave him a mastery both of its letter and meaning, which was of first importance to a great Christian preacher. He grew great on the thoughts of God. Then he loved men; his great aim, of which he never lost sight, was to convert souls. This gave earnestness to his preaching. The sermons of Chrysostom and his exposition were clear, logical, full of apt and versatile illustration; his language simple, yet refined. The ordinary reader can not turn his pages, in spite of all difference of age, race, speech, and sometimes luxuriant rhetoric, without feeling the genuine Christian spirit, and being both interested and helped in the spiritual life. Their main characteristics are their ethical aim, their straightforward common sense, and the warmth of Christian love. The same qualities added to wide knowledge of the Scriptures,

**Source of his
Power as a
Preacher.**

through mastery of the Greek tongue and the use of the historic and grammatical method in interpretation, make his commentaries of lasting value.

A biographer says : " It is this rare union of powers which constitutes his superiority to almost all the other Christian preachers with whom he might be compared. Savonarola had all, and more than all, his fire and vehemence, but untempered by his sober, calm good sense, and wanting his rational method of interpretation. Wesley is almost his match in simple, straightforward, practical exhortation, but does not rise into flights of eloquence like his. The great French preachers resemble him in his more ornate and declamatory vein; but they lack that simpler common-sense style of address which equally distinguished him."

Part Fifth.

THE NEW SOCIETY.

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CHAPTER I.

THE OLD SOCIAL ORDER IN ROME.

It is always difficult to give an accurate estimate and representation of those relations of men with each other which we call society, and of that society's life and moral value. It is not a light task to depict that social life whose influence presses upon us as palpably and unceasingly as the air we breathe and of which we are a part. Every resident in a foreign land realizes how imperfect must be such an estimate with narrower resources of observation and materials for judgment. How then can we arrive at results of permanent worth in endeavoring to reconstruct the social order of past generations.

**Distinctive
Difference
between a
Heathen
and a
Christian
Civilization.**

Against this difficulty of the task may be placed its necessity. No man can avoid some judgment upon the social order and moral life of the world in which he lives. Nor can he long remain in a foreign country and not feel the proportionate value of these resultant and main factors of the national life. Indeed, without this informing life the history of past ages is but a mass of dates and names, as devoid of interest as of profit. With this, not only are they again alive, but speak with no uncertain sound in regard to some of the deepest and most perplexing problems men have to face. The endeavors, failures, and successes of these ages have a living interest

and an abiding lesson. The society of those times was as much alive as ours, and its lessons in social dynamics are much easier followed and quite as profitable. We see but the trend and flow of things around us; it is not seldom difficult to distinguish the main current from its divided parts and swirling eddies. We see all things in process; very little of final result. With past ages the difficulty is, at the same time, less and different. With them there is little question of the results; they are even more apparent than the process by which they have been reached. Both processes and results find often their best interpretation in the life of our time reflected upon them, and they show the results of processes with which we are daily familiar. The past and the present are the complements of each other.

The nature of man does not greatly change; the tendency of his desires, the aim of his endeavors, the possibilities of his achievements may, but these changes are not so great but that they are related to and explain each other. History never repeats itself; for the principles of social organization and the laws of their actions are uniform, not the particular circumstances or example. The fundamental principles of human nature and the great laws of social organization do not change, but their action is modified by those principles of growth and retrogression which distinguish the sapling from the giant of the forest, and the oak firmly rooted through the storms of a thousand years from his neighbor whose rotten heart needs but the first tempest to reveal its inward decay. History separates, as nothing else, the transitory from the permanent, the seeming from the real.

To estimate the new life which Christianity brought into society, and the transformation which it wrought, we must understand in some measure the old order which it replaced. If there are those who think that Christianity has, and has had, but little influence upon human affairs in this world; that it is concerned exclusively with a world of which our senses can give no positive knowledge, and of preparation for that world to the neglect, if not the despite, of this; that it is a system of belief in part proved false or unfitted to our time, and in part concerned only with that which can neither be proved nor disproved, and therefore may be ignored, or might better be done away,—he needs no further answer than the careful and open-minded consideration of the facts to which attention is called in these pages. If there are others who think all religions are in the main alike, and the distinctive virtues and energies of Christianity are only what it has in common with other faiths, they need only to place these facts before them, and live among them, to realize that the difference between a heathen and a Christian civilization is the most profound social difference in the history of the race. The most splendid society of Athens or Rome, of Cordova or Delhi, is more alien to us than the crassest ignorance and crudeness of the times of St. Louis or Charlemagne. There are possibilities of power and growth, of permanence and beneficence in the one, which are impossible in the other. Christianity as a determining factor in civilization can not be ignored, and is not likely to be done away.

No better proof of this statement can be found than some adequate conception of the social and moral

life of the opening century at once of the Roman Empire and the Christian religion. The materials of its representation are drawn from its contemporary heathen literature, its monuments and inscriptions, its laws, its social customs and usages. To bring this life into a compass narrow enough for intelligent comprehension, we will take the generation living from Paul's first missionary journey to the destruction of Jerusalem, from 40 to 70 A. D., the age of the active ministry of the apostles. We will consider briefly in order the life of the court and aristocracy, the condition of women, children, and slaves, the influence of the literature, philosophy, religion, and amusements of the people. These, in connection with the political and economic life sketched in the first part, will furnish materials sufficiently full and accurate for both portrayal and estimate.

Claudius came to the throne of the world, 41 A. D. He was fifty years of age, had never been thought of for the empire, and possessed few of the qualities which fit men for rule. He was industrious and of literary tastes, and had he lived in private station would have maintained the character of a quiet and respected gentleman. In the foremost position of the world, he was ruled by his wives and his freedmen, and his timidity made him cruel. His first wife had borne him two children, when he divorced her because he believed she had threatened his life. His second wife, according to the prevalent custom, was divorced for incompatibility.

Messalina, his third wife, he married before he was emperor. She was the daughter of Antonia, the

Society in
Heathen
Rome.
The Court.

granddaughter of Mark Antony and Octavia, while Claudius was the son of Antonia's sister. The next year she bore a son who was called Britanicus, from his father's campaign in that island; they had also a daughter, Octavia.

Messalina,
the Daughter
of Antonia.

She assumed part in the government, and, without consulting either the Senate or the emperor, she gave away the command of provinces and legions. She corrupted or intimidated the judges, and sold Roman citizenships and the offices of state. The freedmen, Polybius and Narcissus, were the instruments by which she ruled. Her morals were the most disreputable, and she was relentlessly cruel where her fears, her avarice, or her passions were concerned. Julia, the beautiful niece of Claudius, she caused to be put to death, because she feared she might become her rival, and also the husband of her victim, and his sister, another Julia, who was the daughter of Livia, wife of Augustus. She caused the death of Appius Silanus, who rejected her advances; Julius Catonius, who was about to impeach her; and Valerius Atticus, that she might gain possession of his estate. One of the freedmen, Polybius, was executed at her order. The other powerful favorite feared for his life, and determined she should die. Until this time her adulteries had been with dissolute nobles and actors; she now sought to win a handsome Roman youth, Cornelius Silius, who would have nothing to do with her, so corrupt was her character, but that he expected, through her, the death of her husband and a share in the throne. While Claudius was absent she publicly married Silius with all the rights of a legal connubium. The freedman, Narcissus, made use of this event to

show the emperor his danger, and finally, on his own responsibility, signed her death-warrant. She was killed by a tribune of the guards in the gardens of Lucullus, a portion of the domains which had belonged to her victim, Valerius Atticus, in the fall of the same year as her disgraceful marriage.

In the next year, 49, Claudius married Agrippina, the widow of a dissolute noble. By her first husband

she was aunt of Messalina and the mother of Nero. He died a natural death, the result of his excesses, but she was accused of shortening the days of her second husband, a man of great wealth. Agrippina herself was of the highest nobility; she was a sister of the Emperor Caligula, her aunt was the wife of Tiberius, while she herself was the granddaughter of Augustus and niece of Claudius, whom she married. Being at the same time the mother of Nero, she stood in the most intimate relationship with each of the five emperors of the house of Julius Cæsar. Her father was an able general, and she was born at his headquarters, named after her, later, Colonia Agrippa (now Cologne), A. D. 17. Her mother, Agrippina, in moral character, in beauty, and intellectual endowments, was one of the noblest women of imperial times.

Agrippina, the fourth wife of Claudius, was a wise and energetic, dissolute and unscrupulous, beautiful and ambitious woman. She ruled with her husband, on whose coins her head appears. For two years she labored with the freedman, Pallas, to induce Claudius to set aside his own son Britannicus, and make her son Nero, three years older, the heir of the throne. She succeeded in this plan, A. D. 51. She then caused

the death of Julius Silanus, the husband of Octavia, the emperor's daughter and sister of Britannicus, in order that she might marry Nero, which she did in 53. Then she secured the death of Lollia Paullina as a possible rival; of her sister-in-law, Domitia Lepida, the mother of Messalina; and of the brother of her daughter-in-law Octavia's first husband, who, like herself, was a descendant of Augustus. Having assured the succession to her son Nero, she resolved on the death of her husband, the emperor. He was poisoned with the aid of Locusta and a Greek physician, Xenophon, A. D. 54. For some time she ruled with Nero, who came to the throne at the age of seventeen. A few years later, Nero wished to divorce Octavia, one of the few pure women of the imperial house, in order to marry Poppœa Sabina. His mother opposed this project, whereupon he decided she should die. Nero invited her to visit him at Baia, a seaport town south of Rome. She went by ship; there was a pretended reconciliation, with hypocrisy, on both sides. On her return, the ship was so arranged as to go to pieces when they got out to sea. Agrippina saved herself by swimming, and fled to a villa near the Lucrine Lake, and informed her son of her happy escape. Nero ordered Anicetus, the commander of the fleet, to kill her. He went to her villa with a band of men. They surprised her in her bedroom, and she fell under the strokes of the tribune, A. D. 59. Messalina had caused the death of Agrippina's sister, and another sister's husband; Agrippina brought to death the mother of Messalina, and the husband of her daughter Octavia.

Nero, the matricide, had nine years yet to reign.

He had caused the death of Britannicus—his cousin by Nero. birth, brother by adoption, and brother-in-law by marriage—by poison, in his presence, and at his own table. His sister Octavia, the wife of Nero, he put to death in 62. In the same year he married Poppœa Sabina, who died three years later in consequence of a brutal kick from her husband. He caused the execution of the poet Lucan, and his old tutor, Seneca, of Pætus, the noblest of the senators, and of Corbulo, the ablest of the generals. Licentiousness and cruelty have made his name a byword. He was the first persecutor of the Christians, and under him Peter and Paul died as martyrs. In consequence of a revolt he fled, but took his own life, dying just as the executioner arrived, A. D. 68.

There succeeded the short and troubled reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, when, in 69, Vespasian came to the throne. He was an economical and temperate prince, and brought back some reverence and order to the court. His son Titus died an early death in consequence of licentiousness, while the other son, Domitian, lived in adultery with Julia, Titus's daughter, whose death he caused. Adultery, incest, and brutal, disgusting cruelty stain the names of most of the emperors of this time. In the second century the relations of Hadrian and Antinous, the vices of Fausta, wife of Marcus Aurelius, and the excesses of their son Commodus, kept up the evil reputation, which did not fail of representatives in the century succeeding, in Caracalla and Elagabalus, until the hereditary monarchy died out, and only soldiers bore rule.

It is sad and distasteful to read such a tale; but it

should be told. The court influenced the life of the time more than in any age since. If Nero showed a preference for eloquence or music, rhetoricians and musicians abounded; and when Marcus Aurelius came to the throne, the court and society became philosophers; also, because nothing like it can be found in the Christian ages, the nearest parallel being found in the renewed Roman heathenism of the court of Pope Alexander VI. Such bloodthirstiness and sensuality may be found in Oriental courts, but not again in Europe. Even in courts the most corrupt, Christian sentiment has been some restraint, and such abysses of corruption and breath of moral pestilence has not again come upon Western civilization.

While this sickening taint so infected the rulers of the world and the imperial house, the preaching of the gospel of Jesus just began to form the new society, in the midst of the dying world, which was to bring in the new social order. While Messalina, Agrippina, and Nero ruled the world, the first generation of Christians received the gospel. What a setting for the books of the New Testament, most of which were written in this period. Is there in human history a greater contrast than between these teachings and the forces which then ruled the world? No wonder that Christians spoke of the world as lying in the wicked one, and thought of the speedy second coming of the Lord as the only solution of the intolerable situation around them.

The court may be much more corrupt than the people; it is seldom better. A surer index to the morals of society is the condition of women. The matrons of Rome's early time were pure and noble,

worthy of respect and reverence like Lucretia, or Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi. The profound and terrible corruption of the civil wars was never cured. This is shown in the frequency of divorce. In the time just before the empire, we find C. Sulpicius divorced his wife because she went on the streets unveiled; another Roman noble because she had spoken confidentially with a freedman; and another because she had gone to the play without his knowledge. So with the generation before Augustus: Cicero separated from his first wife in order to marry a richer one; and from his second because she did not grieve enough over the death of his daughter Julia. The strictly moral Cato divorced his first wife, who had borne him two children; and delivered his second wife, Marcia, with the consent of her father, to his friend Hortensius, after whose death he married her the second time. Pompey rejected his first wife, Antistia, in order to form a relationship with Sulla through marriage with his stepdaughter Æmilia, who, for this purpose, was compelled to separate from her husband, Glabrio. After her death he married Mucia, whom he divorced in order to marry Cæsar's daughter Julia. Under the empire the condition of these relations was worse. Of Julius Cæsar and Augustus we can not record what was the common talk of the streets, and denied by none of their biographers.

The women began to divorce their husbands without alleging any ground except their preference for another. Juvenal speaks of a woman of the nobility who had eight husbands in five years. Roman women were more susceptible to the moral contagion of their time, from the fact that all

their knowledge and experience of life came after their marriage. They had childhood, but no girlhood. The majority of them married soon after the twelfth year, and before they were fourteen. It is not strange that in an era of change, of riches, of power and luxury, with all old bonds of custom and habit broken down, and no influence of religion to restrain them, they should run to the same excess of riot as the men. Roman writers, from Horace down, unanimously testify to the unchastity of the women. Seneca says: "A man who has not formed an immoral relation with a married woman is despised by them." This evil did not cease with the doing away with the worst excesses of the court in the first century. Dio, nearly two hundred years later, tells of the consul in consequence of the Septimian law against adultery receiving in one year three thousand complaints.

To this widespread and profound dissoluteness, contributed in no small degree, besides the pollution of the court, the corrupting influence of literature—like the writings of Ovid and Causes. Martial, and many another poet; the pictures on the walls, which, as Propertius said, "put out the eyes of innocence;" the seductions of the theater, of which Friedlander says, "The immoral effects of the theater can hardly be represented great or terrible enough;" the scenes of slaughter and martyrdom in the arena, which seared the conscience and killed every tender feeling; besides the incitements of the banquets of which Tacitus speaks.

This immorality, so fearfully prevalent, was not universal. Had it been, Rome could not have continued to exist three generations, instead of twelve,

under the empire. The inscriptions tell a different tale of family affection and family life. Pliny in his

letters introduces us to a circle of noble and excellent women. He tells us of Arria, the wife of Pætus, one of the noblest and purest senators of Rome. Her husband and son were at the same time dangerously ill. The son, of rare worth, died. Arria bore him to the grave without his father knowing of his death. She answered Pætus's questions with assumed ease,—he was better, he had slept. When she could no longer restrain her tears, she left the room and gave way to her grief. When its violence was spent, she returned with dry eyes and placid countenance. Pætus recovered from his sickness. He was concerned in the conspiracy of Scribonianus, who raised a revolt in Illyria in 42. The chief was killed; Pætus was taken prisoner and brought to Rome. Arria sought to gain access to him on the ship which conveyed him to the capital, in the guise of a slave, such as always waited on a man of his rank. Failing in this, she hired a boat and followed the ship. When her son-in-law adjured her to preserve her own life, and said, among other things, "Do you wish then your daughter to die with me, if I must die?" "If she has lived as long and as harmoniously with you as I with Pætus, yes," was the reply. She was then carefully watched, but she said: "You accomplish nothing. You can cause that I suffer a harder death; that I shall die you can not prevent." With these words, she sprang from her seat and dashed her head against the wall. As they brought her back to life, she said, "I said I would find a hard way to death if you denied me an easy

one." When occasion came, she snatched a dagger and plunged it into her breast, and then handing it to her hesitating husband, said, "It does not hurt, Pætus."

Her daughter Arria, and granddaughter Fannia, were worthy of her. They saw their husbands slain in the imperial proscriptions of Nero and Domitian. They would have followed the example of the elder Arria; but at the dying request of those they loved, they consented to live for their children. Pliny testifies that Fannia was as attractive and gracious as she was noble.

If the condition of women was such as the Roman writers depict, that of the children could not have been favorable. They were sinned against before their birth. Well said the husband of Agrippina, that "the son of such parents could bring no good to the State." That son was Nero. **Children.** Abortion, or the exposure of children to death or a worse fate, was common during the whole period of the heathen empire. When the children grew up they were intrusted to the care of slaves, with whom they always began and often completed their education, and from which association, with rare exceptions, they received an early moral taint. They were in the power of their father, who could sell them or put them to death.

The corrupting influence of their time came in upon them from every side,—from art, from literature, from the games. When we take into account the evil example of the parents **Progressive Corruption.** and the society in which they moved, the effect of slavery, enormous, licentious, and cruel, in which they

were reared, and the utter lack of religious and feeble moral restraint, the progressive deterioration of Roman society, literature, art, and national life and power, is seen to be inevitable. Indeed, we can see why Christianity could not save the State, and why the race must die. The inward virus and physical taint of generations of moral corruption could not be purged away. The barbarians—rude, violent, and uncultured, but pure—could alone supply the vigorous physical life necessary for the new world.

No feature of Roman society was more prominent or more influenced its moral condition than slavery.

**Slaves,
Sources of
Supply.** The slaves of Rome were recruited, in the first place, from captives taken in war.

The Jewish captives are represented on the Arch of Titus. Besides the prisoners sent to the Egyptian mines after the Jewish wars, or sent into the provinces to fight in the amphitheater, or reserved for the conqueror's triumph at Rome, ninety thousand were sold as slaves. Man-stealing was practiced by pirates. Marauders on the frontiers, highwaymen, and the unwary were enticed, even in cities. These victims were sold in the markets as slaves. Again, the judgments of the courts, sometimes for crimes and misdemeanors, but more often for debt from the failure to pay taxes or the usurious loans, kept up the supply. Then, of course, the children of slaves, though by no means keeping up the full number, formed a large portion of the whole.

The rapid advance in wealth and the habits of luxury accompanying the creation of great establishments, the formation of immense estates and the driving out of the peasant proprietors, the use of slaves in

trade and manufactures, produced a demand which only an increasing number of slaves could supply.

On the rural estates, there were special classes of slaves to work in the fields, to care for the olive-orchards and vineyards, to look after each kind of stock; as horses, cattle, sheep, and swine. So those who had charge of the fruit garden, the vegetable garden, the bees, the poultry and birds, the fish and game in the parks.

Classes of
Slaves.

In the urban home, the porter stood at the door in chains. Female slaves were numerous in the apartments of the women, and their mistresses treated them with as great rigor as the masters did the slaves that were employed in the field and in other service. Slaves of different kinds had charge of the carpets and the furniture, of the kitchen utensils and provisions, the art collections and the wardrobes. For personal service there were slaves for the chamber, the toilet, the bath, the kitchen, service at the table, and even bearers of sedan chairs instead of horses. Slaves were also the accountants, the superintendents, readers, secretaries, librarians, copyists, teachers, musicians, actors, artists, dwarfs, deformities, and fools. When the master walked abroad, slaves—the *anteambulones*—went before him; slaves—the *pedisequi*—went behind him; and a slave—the *nomenclator*—walked by his side. When a lady went out, those slaves who followed her bore her sandals, fan, and parasol.

Slaves were much more numerous in Italy in proportion to the free population than in Rome. Yet, in the capital, they formed more than half the population. Friedlander's estimate

Number of
Slaves.

of the population of Rome, in which Mommsen in the main agrees, is as follows:

Roman citizens,	320,000
Their women and children,	300,000
Senators and knights,	10,000
Garrison,	20,000
Strangers,	60,000
Slaves,	900,000

1,610,000*

Mommsen says: "Before the law the slave was wholly without rights; he was a thing, over whom the **Slave with-** master alone had authority. He could com-
out Rights. pel him to the meanest or the most immoral service. He could torture and kill him, or, old and sick, let him die of hunger."

The condition of the slave was worse in the country. In a great part of Italy the field-hands labored in chains during the day; at night they lodged in a prison dormitory; and they wore a brand-mark or the head half-shorn.

Slaves could be sold as gladiators or courtesans. The punishments were cruel beyond recital. The very housemaids at the ladies' toilet wore no clothing on the upper part of the body, so that the mistress could prick or strike them more effectively. If driven to desperation so as to kill a master or mistress, all the slaves, sometimes hundreds or thousands in number, were put to death.

During the second century there was a change for the better in the condition of the slaves, and an acknowledgment of their natural rights. Thus were recognized the slave's marriage, his family relationship, and his property.

**Causes of
Amellora-
tion.**

* See Appendix, Note C.

He became capable of marrying a wife or entering into a corporation. When he became free, he had some rightful place in society. This change came from the influence of Stoic philosophy, from political relations, which lessened the supply of prisoners of war and those taken by force, and, above all, from the influence of the preaching of the gospel and of the growing Christian Church.

The age of Augustus was the great age of Roman literature. Seventy-five years before, and as many after, include the great masterpieces of the Latin tongue. The emperors from Au- Literature. gustus to Marcus Aurelius, excluding the successors of Nero, who reigned less than a year, except Vespasian and Trajan, were all authors; and all except Claudius were poets. Poets as well as poetry enjoyed the favor of the emperor. The great nobles of Augustus's reign, like Mæcenas, Massala, and Pollio, were generous in their treatment of the illustrious Latin poets. In an age when no money was to be made by copyrights, the sole defense of the poet against hunger was the patronage of the wealthy. This was extended through the first century with the usual results of such patronage. The praises of the nobility were sung; their gardens, dwellings, furniture, the splendor and luxury of their apparel and entertainments were described; and yet, though in the attitude of a beggar, a lean living was doled out to the poet.

Seldom has poetry had a wider influence than in this age. The first training of an educated man began with Homer, much as the Bible with us, but wholly with a literary aim. Then he early became

acquainted with, and studied all through the years he was in the grammar school, the works of Greek and Latin poets. This formed his lan-

**Influence of
Poetry on
Education
and Life.**

guage as much as it controlled his taste; so that his soberest prose had a poetic coloring and diction. After the grammar school, the boy passed into the hands of the rhetorician, where he studied the prose writers and declamation. In an age when there was no free public life and no liberty of public speech, and when even secret authorship was highly dangerous, the attention of educated men was turned to poetry and oratory, in which all were amateurs, and which gave a habit of unreality to their thought and its expression. If literature was the means of education, the fashion of court and of society, the occupation of educated men, and so the common topic of conversation in the social intercourse of men and women, it had no healing for the ills of the time. While lofty thoughts, inspiring examples, and tasteful elegance do not fail in the greatest writers of these times, in Cicero and Livy, in Virgil and Horace, yet so much of it was tainted with the prevalent moral corruption that there was, at the close of the first century, a reaction in favor of the Latin writers of the simpler and nobler days of Roman society, while men turned toward philosophy for that help to an improvement in morals which they sought in vain from literature.

Indeed, the later part of the first century saw a reaction, though not a recovery, from the crimes and excesses of the rule of the house of Cæsar. **Philosophy.** Vespasian wrought a change in the direction of economical expenditure and a moral life. The

gain was well-nigh lost under his sons; but the tendency was felt until the death of Marcus Aurelius. The last age of the republic and the first of the empire had been as much an age of skepticism as of open profligacy and unblushing immorality. Skepticism never satisfies. The human heart and society soon weary of its mocking and fruitless negations. Roman society sought relief in strange Oriental worship and philosophy. Philosophy—that is, the profoundest and truest thoughts concerning the essence, the origin, and the purpose and end of things—had been cultivated with rich results by the Greeks before the arms of Rome had passed the waters which surround the Italian Peninsula. Their efforts proved God to be a necessity of human thought, if the scheme of things is considered as a united whole, the craving of the human spirit after immortal life, and yet the inability of the unaided intellect to establish these positions; so that the period closed in Pyrrhonic skepticism. The Romans were so wholly dependent on the Greeks for their philosophic guidance that a sketch of the course of Greek thought must be given to understand the philosophy which attracted them.

The first philosophers sought to find the ultimate principle of things in something material, and founded the Ionic School. Thales, the first of these, ^{Ionic School.} 600 B. C., placed it in water; Anaximenes, ^{Pythagoras.} 570 B. C., in air; Heraclitus, 500 B. C., in fire; Anaximander, 502 B. C., in infinite matter. Pythagoras, 525 B. C., taught that the universe is a harmony built up of number and measure, and pervaded by a world soul. He taught metempsychosis, or that souls go into different human bodies.

The same problem was approached by the Eleatic School, from the side of thought irrespective of material existence. Xenophanes of Colophon, Eleatic School, 617 B. C., its founder, placed the principle of the universe in a pantheistic idea of unity; Parmenides, 500 B. C., in simple being, in which thought and the thing thought are the same. Empedocles, 492-532 B. C., thought of the universe as an eternal sphere, of which love and hate are the fundamental powers. Democritus, 460-350 B. C., was the founder of the Atomic philosophy. He conceived of the universe as an aggregate of allied and ordered atoms, the soul as composed of a sum of round fiery atoms. Anaxagoras, 500-428 B. C., made a great advance on all previous thinking in making *Nous*, or Reason, the first principle of things.

Socrates, 470-399 B. C., made the second great advance, in turning the attention of thinkers and philosophers from the universe to man himself. He gave an ethical tendency to philosophy. Its aim, he taught, should be self-knowledge, virtue, self-restraint, self-conquest, and a blameless life.

The three Socratic schools, which represented three ethical tendencies springing from his teaching, were the Cyrenaic, which held the highest good to be enjoyment; the Cynic, with which the highest good was renunciation, the avoidance of enjoyment; and the Megarian, with which the highest good was the eternal and all-existing being, sometimes represented as spirit and thought, and sometimes as God.

Plato was the greatest scholar of Socrates, in many

respects the most illustrious thinker of Greece, and the greatest idealistic philosopher of all **Plato,** time. His was a richly-gifted nature, at **429-348 B. C.** once poetic, speculative, and profoundly philosophic. In brief, these are his leading thoughts concerning God, the world, and man:

Plato taught that God, in his being, is unknowable, but he must be conceived as spiritual. The multitude know him only through appearances; the wise, by abstraction, knowledge. **His Doctrines. God.** The highest God is an intelligent, free, wise, and just spirit. He is the Former of the world, not its Creator; for matter eternally exists. God is in no sense the Author of evil.

The Divine reason organizes matter according to a pattern of eternal ideas. These ideas are a medium between God and matter. They are the **The World.** Divine conceptions and thoughts, according to which, as types, God makes the things of the world. These ideas are eternal, unchangeable, and exist only in themselves, separate from all things, but the patterns of all that is. They are founded in God, and he is the all-embracing idea. The highest idea is God.

The world and the stars have souls. The human soul is a reproduction in miniature of the world soul, of the same substance, formed after the **Man.** same idea of the Good. In the human soul are three elements—the immortal soul, the reasonable, the divine; the better, masculine, courageous element; and the feminine sensuous element. The last two are mortal. The human soul existed in another state before birth. The soul is immortal, the

fruit of the life before and kernel of the life to come. All virtue is knowledge, and all vice comes from ignorance and error. Sin is involuntary; unright-

Ethics. ousness is a sickness of the soul, which comes upon it like sickness to the body.

He who does evil, errs only in judgment; it is no act of the free will, but of the passionate nature. As guilt is only a want of spiritual power, so redemption is but coming to one's self. In his ideal state, he allowed community of wives, slavery, exposure of crippled children, and sexual vice.

Aristotle was the scholar of Plato. His mind and disposition were the opposite of his master's. He was

Aristotle, mathematical, critical, realistic, the philosopher of the understanding, and a systemizer. He was the founder of logic and dialectic. He denied Plato's teaching of ideas, the pre-existence of souls, and that no man is voluntarily evil.

God is represented as the final cause, the universal object of desire and love, as pure intelligence without

His Doc- power, active only in thought. He is not
trines. God. Creator, as the world is eternal. He denied Divine providence.

The soul is the substance which, only through the body, comes to manifestation. The soul can not

Man. think without the body. Yet the reason is immortal, while all else of the soul perishes with the body. The unity of the soul is denied. The highest wisdom of Aristotle is a sound and judicious morality. In the State he allows hate and revenge, the exposure and death of weakly children and abortion, and defends slavery, denying that the slaves have reasonable souls.

With all deductions, Plato's thought leads to the antechamber of the Divine presence, and has been the means of leading great and inquiring spirits—such as Justin Martyr, Schleiermacher, and Neander—to Christ. It influenced both Origen and Augustine. Aristotle laid down laws of thought which all men must heed. His ideas of natural philosophy were dominant until the Reformation. His metaphysics ruled the schoolmen, and so the dogmatic theology of the Roman Catholic Church until this day, as, through John of Damascus, it does that of the Greek Church.

**The Results
of Greek
Thinking.**

The leading philosophic tendencies after these two great thinkers are Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Skepticism.

The founder of Stoicism was Zeno of Citium, 340–260. His system is a materialistic pantheism. Yet the world-reason is the author of the moral law, and the rewarding and punishing judge. All is unalterably determined from eternity.

Stoicism.

Evil is necessary; without it there is no good. Every human soul is a part of the Godhead. All myths and idolatry are received and allegorically explained. The wise man must subject all his emotions and passions to reason, and attain to perfect apathy and to self-control. Suicide, lying, and sexual vice were allowed.

Ethics.

The Epicureans adopted the Atomic system of philosophy. They taught that the highest good is enjoyment and freedom from care.

**Epicureanism.
Epicurus,
342–270.**

Pyrrho, the founder of philosophic skepticism,

taught the impossibility of attaining to philosophic knowledge. We are compelled by necessity to be contented with the appearance of things. Carneades, 215-130 B. C., combated every religious belief.

Skepticism.
Pyrrho,
325 B. C.

Greek philosophy, showing the necessary direction of human thought and the limits of its achievements, was a preparation for the gospel of Christ.

In all this speculation, the Romans, who were not original thinkers, were influenced mainly by the **Roman Stoic School.** They accepted the pantheistic idea of God, the materialistic conception of the universe, and the fatalistic view of man. The two greatest names among them were Seneca and Epictetus.

Seneca taught: "The wise man lives with the gods on an equal footing; for he is really himself God, or bears a part of the Godhead in him.

Seneca.

We are, at the same time, God's associates and his members." Yet we find how little this means and how completely man is left to himself when we read: "Prayer is useless. Why raise the hands to heaven? Wherefore trouble the gods when you can make yourself happy? It becomes you to become an equal associate with the gods, rather than to appear before them as one praying to them."

The moral tendency of Stoicism appears to the best advantage in Epictetus. The beginning of philosophy to him is the knowledge of our own weakness and impotence. In order to become good, we must first see that we are bad. Philosophy must purify us from the darkness which imagines we need nothing, and from despair of our

Epictetus.

own powers. He refers man to God. From God shall man seek what he lacks, moral help; but the God to whom we must turn is the God in us. Our reason and will are the higher powers, in whose help we must confide, and whom we should follow. There is much in his teaching which is in accord with Christian morality; but there is a selfish trend where apathy is the aim, and compassion, if shown, is never to be felt. This Stoical teaching accorded well with the Roman pride and insensibility to pain. It cultivated a lofty self-respect, and often a keen sense of honor. But there was in it no place for sympathy with men. Stoicism emphasized the dignity of men, and so favorably affected criminal legislation and the condition of slaves.

The Roman youth, seeking a higher education, went from the rhetorical school to the lectures of the philosophers, usually from his eighteenth **Philosophy** to his twenty-fifth year. Physics, logic, and **in Education.** ethics were taught; but the aim was predominantly moral. The teacher not only taught, but applied his doctrine, and was the confidential friend and spiritual adviser of his pupils. These schools kept up the tradition of pure morality in Roman society. While the Cynics preached morality to the people, yet philosophy failed to work any regeneration, and to do more than to delay the progressive degeneration. Its power was insufficient, its ideals too poor, its circles too narrow. It allied itself with the heathen religion in Neo-Platonism; but its final effort was its final failure. The wandering, begging, and cheating philosophers became a plague of the country where they were at all numerous.

Ammonius Saccas was the founder of Neo-Platonism. Plotinus was its most eminent teacher. He taught that the universe of things consists of a supersensuous world, and our world, or the world of appearance. The supersensuous world consists of the Original Being, the world of ideas (Plato's), and the soul. The Original Being is simply active power; all being is the production of this "One." In the "One" is all, so far as it has being, and hence is divine. The system is, therefore, dynamistic pantheism. The first production of the Original Being is reason, both the ideal world and the idea. From reason comes the soul, which is an immaterial substance. The soul produces the world of appearance. The world is not evil; but the cause of evil is the intermixture with matter, which is the foundation of every individual being. Evil is, therefore, the intermixture of man with the sensuous. Redemption consists in freeing man from the sensuous by asceticism; this leads back to reason. This purifies the soul, and prepares for the imitation of God. The soul becomes not merely without sin, but becomes God, through the vision of God; that is, through ecstasy.

The religions of the heathen were as diverse as their different races and nationalities. They had the common characteristics of polytheism and idolatry. The Greek clothed his religion with his wonderful poetic and artistic genius. Egypt taught immortality, but degraded man to the worship of beasts. In Persia, the belief in immortality was blended with that of an eternal conflict between good and evil. The Shemitic and Babylonian star and

nature worship was licentious and cruel. With their intensely practical character, the gods of the Romans were those of agriculture, the family, the State, and, above all, war. There was a most exact and scrupulous observance of ritualistic requirements under the most severe penalties in auguries, and auspices, and religious forms of the State ceremonial. Rome not only had the twenty great gods which Plato enumerates, but adopted those of the countries which she conquered, and crowned all with the deification of the members of the imperial house. This, of course, was the degradation of whatever lofty ideas were ever symbolized in the mythologies. For although there was recognized not the deification of the individual emperor, with all his weaknesses, vices, and crimes, so much as the power and permanence of the Roman State, yet this remained the highest ideal.

The pettiness, selfishness, and yet intimate union of idolatry with the whole life of the individual and of the family may be seen by a glance at its relation to the life of the ordinary Roman citizen. Juno was the protectress of the Roman women. On their birthday they sacrificed to Juno Natalis. The feast of the *Matronalia* they celebrated with sacrifices in the temple of Juno Lucina, in remembrance of the founding of marriage by Romulus at the seizing of the daughters of the Sabines. As Fluvonia, she was associated with Mena in the purification of women. In regard to marriage and its rites, she was honored by the bride as Juga, Curitis, Domiduca, Unixia, Pronuba, Einixia. As Ossipaga, Ophigena, and Lucina, she watched over the unborn child and its birth.

**Idolatry and
the Course of
Human Life.
The Goddess
of the
Women.**

As Conciliatrix and as Viriplaca, she appeased the husband; and as Sororia, preserved peace among sisters.

The goddesses invoked at birth, besides Juno, were Mane-Geneta, Carmenta, and Egeria. The god

**The Child—
Divinities
who pro-
tected it.**

called upon at the first cry of the new-born child was Vaticanus. The child was laid upon the ground. If the father took it up in his arms, all was well; but if not, it was killed or exposed: hence there was a goddess of uplifting, or Levana. The divinities who protected the child in his infancy were Cunina, Statilinus, Edusa, Potina, Paventia, Fabulinus, and Catius. Juventas, the goddess of youth, had a temple; Orbana, the goddess of orphans, her sanctuary. The fever goddess had two temples. With special rites were honored Pietas, Pax, Bonus Eventus, Spes, Quies, Pudicitia, Honor, and Virtus, who all had temples or chapels. Especially honored was Concordia.

The religious service and idolatry which encompassed the life of the mother and her son from the beginning of his existence, entered into all his after life. Terminus presided over the boundaries of his estate; Silvanus of his forests; Dea Dia, over the fruits of the field; Pales, over the flocks; Flora, over the flowers,—and had a festival of unbridled license. Vertumnus presided over the fields and gardens, and his wife Pomona, the fruits; and the great goddess Ceres watched the grain. If he began family life, Vesta guarded the hearth. The Lares and Penates of the house had their altar and offerings.

The fifteenth day after his birth, the *Fates*, or *Fata*

Scribenda, were called upon, and through life he never ceased to worship Fortune. Every State employment was mixed up with idolatry. The soldier worshipped the eagle borne on the standard of his cohort or legion. All civil and judicial oaths were tainted with the pervading idolatry, and every citizen must sacrifice, if called upon, to the genius of the emperor. From this recital the inevitable antagonism and incessant conflict in which the Christian engaged against idolatry, and which entered into and broke up the relations of business, society—all public and family life. The Christians could not live in the old, they were compelled to found a new world.

The utter failure of art, literature, philosophy, and religion to reform Roman society or preserve heathen civilization, unmistakably confronts us when we consider the amusements of the people.

The theater was the oldest of these. The three theaters in the time of the empire would accommodate from 50,000 to 75,000 people—a much larger number, in proportion to the population, than could find room in the theaters of any capital in Europe. The old stage presented a rustic comedy, with coarse and obscene allusions. At the time of the introduction of Christianity the representations were usually mythological scenes. Those specially preferred were the love adventures of Jupiter, Venus and Adonis, Apollo and Daphne, Phædra and Hippolytus, etc. Ovid said he thought his poems "should not be charged with immorality, when the emperor and senators, the matrons and maidens, yes, even children, saw the *mimes*. The wife deceives

The Amusements.

The Theaters.

her husband, and not only the ears hear unchaste speeches, but the eye is accustomed on the stage to revolting shame."

The heathen Zosimus, writing in the fifth century, said: "The introduction of pantomimes under Augustus was a symptom of the universal moral ruin of the world which began with the beginning of the monarchy."

The corrupt moral influence of the theaters, which could accommodate at one time one-twentieth of the free population, could never be inconsiderable; but was insignificant when compared with that of the circus and amphitheater. The great circus under Julius Cæsar had 150,000 sittings; under Titus, 250,000; and under Trajan, to the end of the empire, 385,000. It was the boast of Rome that all her citizens could find accommodation in her circus. Being free, it was crowded. In the morning before daybreak people came streaming in to find places. It was thronged from the time of Julius Cæsar to the end of this period. Of course, in such a vast space, little attention could be paid to individual horses and charioteers. Hence they were distinguished by their colors, which could be seen across the immense crowd, and through the dust. The races were run by horses hitched two or four abreast. Nero drove ten abreast at Olympia. They were driven fourteen times the length of the arena, or seven times around the course, a distance of about five miles. All the violence of the most intense political partisanship, the excitement of the horse-race, and the risk and anxiety of the most eager gambling, raged in the circus. The people staid all day. After Nero's time, from twenty to

twenty-four races were run each day. The crowds and excitement of the circus endured through Christian times. A riot at the circus at Constantinople nearly cost Justinian his throne, and occasioned the loss of thirty-two thousand lives.

The corruption of the theater, the excitement of the circus, culminated in the games of the amphitheater. These comprised the gladiatorial games and the contests with wild beasts.

**The Games
of the Am-
phitheater.**

The first mention of gladiatorial games is in 264 B. C., when three pairs fought at the funeral of Brutus Perus. In 65 B. C., Julius Cæsar sought to give games which should surpass anything seen in Rome; but the resolution of the Senate limited him to the use of 320 pairs of gladiators. Augustus ordered that the prætor should give these games twice a year, with not more than 120 men. When private persons gave games the usual number was one hundred pairs. During the reign of Augustus ten thousand men fought in his games. In the games of one year at the Dacian triumph of Trajan, 106, the same number fought. In the course of four years, about 240, five thousand men fought in these games.

**Combats of
Gladiators.**

Gladiators were sometimes sentenced criminals; sometimes prisoners of war, or slaves, and even voluntary recruits. They were trained in the gladiatorial schools. Caligula established the first one in Rome. Domitian founded four. There were always from twelve hundred to two thousand gladiators in Rome. There were also schools at Capua, Præneste, Ravenna, and Alexandria—places chosen for the healthfulness of their location. The

**Sources of
Supply and
Training of
Gladiators.**

discipline of these schools was of cruel severity. The men were kept in little cells, without windows on three sides, and opening on a pillared hall. The punishments were scourgings, brandings, and heavy chains. At Pompeii the remains of sixty of these men have been found in their cells, many of them heavily fettered. They not seldom committed suicide. Symmachus, in the last of the fourth century, tells of twenty nine Saxon captives who were to have taken part in the games in honor of his son's accession to the prætorship, who strangled each other with their bare hands.

Not satisfied with such scenes, the Roman tiger thirst for blood showed itself in Julius **Battles in the Amphitheater.** Cæsar at his triumphal games—causing to fight in the arena five hundred foot, three hundred horse, and twenty elephants.

For this purpose excavations were made, and artificial lakes formed. In these sea-fights under Julius **Naval Battles.** Cæsar, 46 B. C., fought one thousand men and two thousand rowers; under Augustus three thousand soldiers, and under Claudius nineteen thousand. Nero, Titus, and Domitian favored the populace with these rare sights, as did Philip the Arabian, in 248, at the secular games.

Games in which wild animals fought were introduced in 186 B. C. In Pompey's games were used **Combats with Wild Beasts.** seventeen elephants, five hundred lions, and four hundred other animals. Julius Cæsar used four hundred lions and forty elephants; Augustus, three thousand five hundred animals. These numbers are small compared with five thousand wild and nine thousand tame animals

used by Titus, 80, in the hundred days' festival; or the eleven thousand slain in 106, at the Dacian games of Trajan. The aristocracy also gave private games in which they were used. The games of the Emperor Philip (248) rivaled any before seen. Rhinoceroses were pitted against elephants, bears and elephants against buffaloes, while lions, tigers, leopards, hyenas, wild horses, wild asses, giraffes, and even hippopotamuses and crocodiles, were found, and fought for their lives in the arena. Criminals were sentenced, and Christians were condemned to martyrdom by being thrown to the wild beasts; while, with a refinement of cruelty difficult to imagine, these executions took place in the course of the representation of plays upon the stage,—the death of Jason and of Hercules; the robber Laureolus crucified; Dædalus torn to pieces by the lions, or Orpheus by the bears.

These games, and the amphiteaters for them, were found from Jerusalem to Seville, and from England to North Africa. There was no important city in which there were not numerous bloody offerings. There was hardly a small town in Italy where annual combats, at least of wild beasts, were not held two or three or four days in the year. In small or poor places three or four pairs of gladiators fought; in larger ones, twenty, thirty, or even fifty pairs. According to the expenditure of human life was estimated their splendor. They were most numerous in Italy, Gaul, North Africa, and Spain. There were never so many in Greece and the Asiatic lands. The only Roman of eminence who pronounced against them was Seneca.

Extent of the
Prevalence of
Gladiatorial
Games.

In Rome, of course, the games were given with the greatest expenditure of blood and treasure. The
Time given to Games in Rome. seven yearly games under Augustus lasted sixty-six days; Tiberius raised the number to eighty-seven; Marcus Aurelius to one hundred and thirty-five, where it remained. Besides these, were the extraordinary games which sometimes filled out one or two hundred days. These games included the theater, circus, and amphitheater.

The imperial games cost annually one hundred thousand dollars under Augustus. Three days' games
The Expense of the Games. in a city in Central Italy cost twenty-two thousand dollars. Yet Augustus gave Herod five hundred thousand dollars for games at Jerusalem; and two thousand five hundred Jewish captives fought in the amphitheater at Caesarea, 70, after the fall of Jerusalem. Aurelian's games upon entering office as consul, about 265, cost two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. The games of Symmachus's son as prætor, about 375, cost four hundred and fifty thousand dollars. These sums should be increased sixfold to tenfold to represent the money of our day.

The most significant monument of Roman imperial times is the Coliseum, built by the Emperor
The Coliseum. Vespasian 70-80. It rested on eighty mighty arches, and rose one hundred and fifty feet into the air. It was elliptical in shape, about 625 feet long by 305 feet broad, while the arena was 280 feet long by nearly 180 feet in breadth; it had sittings for 87,000 spectators. The splendor of the display, as representing the world-wide dominion and unceasing permanence of Rome, doubtless at-

tracted many of the spectators. The Venerable Bede tells us of a saying, common in his time, about 750: "So long as the Coliseum stands, Rome will stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, will fall the world."

The last day before the games began, the gladiators were called together and given a free meal in public, furnished with costly meats and drinks. Many spent the day in riotous excess, others in taking leave of their wives and friends, and the Christians of their fellow-believers. The next day the seats are filled. The emperor and his family occupy the imperial box. The senators, the knights, and wealthy members of society fill the marble benches. Women, as well as men, are there to feast their eyes on scenes of blood. Indeed, at their head are the Vestal Virgins. From senators to women of fashion, all are in their gayest attire and most sumptuous array. The ornaments of wealth, the insignia of office, the beauty and power of Rome, are there. Suddenly the trumpets of the heralds sound. The gladiators, in the costumes of the different nationalities they represent, and armed with the arms they are about to use, pass in long procession around the arena. When they reach the imperial box, they hail the emperor with, "Imperator, we who are about to die, salute thee." No Christian pen would willingly trace the scenes of these bloody conflicts. If a wounded gladiator implores for life, the emperor by turning up his thumbs grants it, but more often, by turning them down, gives the signal for the finishing stroke. The multitude manifests the greatest displeasure when a gladiator seems unwilling to die.

The Games
in the
Coliseum.

When the combat ceases, attendants, attired to represent the gods of the lower regions, come out with gleaming hot irons to test the fallen and see if they are dead. The bodies are borne to the dead-chamber, and any lingering wretch with the stroke of the sword is released from his pain.

There were six hundred years of these brutal, cruel, public murders. It was high time for Alaric, Genseric, Totila, and Belisarius to sweep the race

**Abolition
of these
Games.**

from the ground, polluted with drinking such streams of human blood; for, though Constantine decreed the abolition of these games, October 1, 326, and Valentinian forbade the condemnation of a Christian to a school of the gladiators in 365, and they had ceased in the East, they continued in Rome. In 404, the monk Telemachus, plunging between the combatants to separate them in the last gladiatorial games given in Rome, was torn in pieces by the raging multitude, whose pleasure he had spoiled.

If we consider the extent of these bloody spectacles of the amphitheater, every province of the empire

**Extent and
Influence of
the Games.**

having a procurator of games, who was also interested in keeping up the supply for the capital; if we consider the cost, the revenues of provinces being lavished in a few days; if we take into account that the theaters, the circus, and the amphitheater could accommodate at one time more than one-third of the whole population, men and women, of the city; that the ordinary free plays and games occupied from three to four months in the year, while there were added from one to two months

more by the extraordinary games, besides all the private spectacles,—we can estimate their immense influence and the irremediable demoralization caused by them. We can see why the Roman citizen, who must attend the theater, the circus, and the games of the amphitheater from dawn to setting sun each second or third day, could not support himself, and why, out of 320 000 Roman citizens, 200,000 were fed by the State. This free distribution of grain was practiced, to the ruin of agriculture and draining the resources of the State, not only at Rome, but at Alexandria, at Antioch, and in other cities of the empire. There is a necessary connection between bad morals and bad economics.

The reader may think this picture of Roman society and morals overdrawn. The contrary is the case. No missionary would dare to print or speak of the familiar sights of every-day life in a heathen land. Nor could the historian of Rome desire or dare to record the daily scenes of the most splendid and refined society of the capital of the world. What the heathenism was to which the gospel came, and which the gospel conquered, buried and restored Pompeii tells us with evidence impossible to question. The historian, sober and never partial to the Christians, Hermann Schiller, says: "Pompeii shows frightful immorality."

**Corruption
of Roman
Society.
Witness of
Pompell.**

Christianity has its dark spots, its crowded slums, in its great capitals and in the centers of population; but the cruel slavery, the unbridled and unconcealed profligacy, the basest forms of immorality, are as for-

eign to Christian civilization and as unknown to the citizens of a Christian land as the games of the Roman amphitheater. The world has moved, and moved along the plane of Christian morals. Along this plane the path of future progress lies.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND SOCIETY.

THE new world began with the individual. The Christian was a new man. Regeneration, however difficult to explain as a process, is a fact of experience. Growth in the physical world is one of the most complex and inexplicable of processes, but none the less one of the most evident and controlling of facts. Such an experience alone could give the purity and equality of the first Christian ages. This regeneration wrought that entire ethical reform which has always made the religion of Christ the most powerful agent in the moral elevation of the individual, and enabled it to reach and save the slave, the outcast, and the criminal. According to the letters of St. Paul, these, turned from their evil ways, became members of the Christian Church. This work continued; for Celsus, more than a hundred years later, makes it a reproach against the Christians that they receive such into their fellowship. Since the preaching of the Cross to the dying thief, the Christian faith has saved those who were lost. Its cure is radical and complete. Not only were men turned from their old life,—they were turned to a new one. The old desires and affections were driven out by the expulsive power of a new and all-controlling affection for the loftiest ideal, and the noblest and most winning personality which ever appealed to the human heart. The believer was

The Effect
of
Christianity
upon the
Individual.

not all the time striving, by mortifications and weary, fruitless endeavors, to arrive at moral purity; he received inward cleansing through God's unspeakable gift. He wrought not for life, but from life. The contents of his Christian experience were positive rather than negative. Self-restraint came as the result of the inward, more abundant life, not as the sole and direct result of moral endeavor. What philosophy and merely ethical teaching in every age has failed to do, that the Christian religion wrought, according to the testimony of heathen observers like Galen, 130-200: "We know that the people called Christians have founded a religion in parables and miracles. In moral training we see them in no wise inferior to the philosophers. They practice celibacy, as do many of their women; in diet they are abstemious, in fastings and prayers assiduous; they injure no one. In the practice of virtue they surpass philosophers; in probity, in continence, in the genuine performance of miracles, they infinitely excel them."

Let us remember that this work was accomplished in the midst of all that habit, association, universal
Influence and all-powerful custom could do to draw
of Old Christians back into the old heathen life.
Associations. Of the strength of those influences surrounding them we can have no conception. An apt illustration of them is given by Augustine in his "Confessions." "Alypius, a Christian, was compelled by his friend to go to the amphitheater. Shutting his eyes, he kept his soul unpolluted, until, through some chance in the fight, there arose a terrible outcry. Almost involuntarily he opened his eyes. With the sight of the flowing blood, he drank in the inhu

manity of the place. He was intoxicated with the bloody pleasure. He saw, he cried, he was inflamed. He took the mania away with him and it stung him to return."

It was not that the new life died away with the obligation of watchfulness, self-examination, and the realization of a nobler ideal; these were insisted upon, but they were not all—they did not stand alone—they were related to and a part of that divine salvation by which lost men and a corrupt society could be redeemed. Its power was inexhaustible, its redemption plenteous.

According to the Christian conception, the regeneration of the individual was not an end in itself. When a man was born of God, he was born into a new society, the kingdom of God, represented on earth by the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hence the salvation of the individual and of society were correlative factors; the one involved the other. The principle which was to regenerate society, and of the new social order brought in by the acceptance of the reign of Christ, was Christian love; love that sacrifices, love that forgets self, love that dies, love that brings purity and peace. This love is divine; it is received by men; it allies them to God; it binds them to each other; it is the attractive, crystallizing power of the new society in the new world.

The purifying influence of this love is felt first in the home. Here the new life came; for wherever Christ was preached, "women were invited and welcomed into the Christian communities, and were admitted equally with men to all Christian privileges. Hence. in a Christian

**Social
Reform.**

**The
Christian
Home.**

family the wife and mother held an honorable place." Chastity, in contrast with heathen licentiousness, investing marriage with a religious sanctity, and allowing divorce only for the cause named by Christ, hallowed and strengthened the life of the home. The blessing of the Son of Mary came upon the womanhood of the race.

As "saints," "brethren," and "sisters," the earliest names for Christians, they formed a holy brotherhood, united and pure. This aspiration after
Marriage. purity was seen in the Christian view of marriage. Three things were regarded as essential—one husband with one wife, or monogamy; divorce only for adultery; no alliance of the sexes tolerated except in marriage, hence concubinage done away among them. Marriage was allowed, widowhood honored, but virginity was by many preferred. Second marriage was discountenanced. Everywhere the thought was, purity at any price. Knowing the condition of human society, we can see why they should go to the other extreme. Yet Paul's comparison of the relation of Christ to his Church to marriage, honors in the highest degree this relation on which depends the family life.

The difficulties of the situation are proved by the severe and long-continued struggle against concubinage, a relation in which the woman renounced the name of wife, and the rank and dignity of her husband; and the children did not take the full legal position of children born in legitimate marriage, and yet which had a certain lawful relation as a kind of legalized polygamy. The practice became widespread. The laws against it of Constantine, and later

those of Justinian, hardly checked it, and it was wholly done away by law only in the ninth century. Pope Calixtus was blamed for having favored such marriages, and three Councils—400, 402, and 538—mention them without placing their right in question. Christianity made chastity as obligatory upon man as upon woman, yet only under Theodosius II was first recognized the right of the wife to divorce in case of her husband's adultery. The position of women in the Church brought purity and equality into the home. The Pauline precept enthroned love there as Christ had taught the indissoluble union of husband and wife. The Church gave the right and the ideal, the realization came slowly in the State. Before that ideal sexual immorality hid itself, and unnatural vice perished from civilized society.

In the Christian home the children shared in the blessings which came upon the parents. No richer blessing could come to any child than to be born to a heritage of purity and love.

Children.

The heathen practices of abortion, or the exposure of the children to die, or to be brought up as the meanest of slaves, could never enter the Christian family. "Under the old Roman law, parents might at any time put their children to death, or sell them as slaves; but this severity was at once voluntarily softened in Christian families, and the power was taken away by Christian emperors." The blessing of the Babe of Bethlehem came upon the childhood of the world. The old household gods, with their familiar rites, were displaced, but the Christian home had its religious life.

From the beginning, "grace" was said at meals—

hardly any other Christian observance is older, or of more universal usage. The practice of making the sign of the cross on the forehead, by the beginning of the third century, came to be a perpetually-repeated sign in families. Children were early taught the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed and to pray at midnight, sunrise, and at every meal. They were taught from the Scriptures, beginning with the Psalms. Christian songs and hymns were an abundant source of recreation at meal-times, and in all family and friendly reunions.

No attempt was made in the first century to do away with slavery; that would have been impossible without a political and social revolution.

Religious Life in the Home.
Slaves. A slave could live a Christian life. Christians generally considered slavery as belonging to this world, and therefore not as immoral, but yet as not corresponding to the highest will of God. The Church cared for the spiritual welfare of slaves, and taught that their masters were to improve their condition, and were responsible for their souls. Their position was greatly improved by the Church; slaves even became bishops. Christian feeling toward slavery is well expressed by Gregory the Great: "As our Redeemer, the Author of the whole Creation, took upon him human nature for the purpose of releasing us by his grace from the chains of bondage, in which we were held, so is a salutary action performed when men, whom nature from the beginning made free, and whom the rights of nations have subjected to the yoke of slavery, are restored to the freedom in which they are born."

The increasing poverty and economic distress rendered slavery unprofitable at the close of this period. The invasions of the barbarians broke up the slave-markets allowed the escape of multitudes of bondmen, and seriously affected the institution. The influence of monasticism, in despising property and luxury, tended in the same direction; but the one chief cause leading to the cessation of slavery in Europe was the teaching of the Christian gospel, and the influence of the Christian Church. We may say, in the words of Mommsen: "Christianity had, in the beginning, considered servitude as a provisional condition, and its task as its abolition. Its influence was such that not only Christian owners freed their slaves in greater numbers, but also the freedom of slaves was purchased out of the means of the Church; and, finally, the law did away with gladiatorial games, established a kind of manumission before the Church in the community, and fully did away with the difference between the free and the freedman."

Such were some of the effects of the application of the principles of Christian love in the family life. Its results were not less far-reaching in the wider circles of business and society.

The acceptance of the gospel rendered inevitable antagonism to the prevalent practices of public and social life. It required the reception and manifestation in life of the Spirit of Christ, so utterly alien to the dominant philosophy, customs, and usages, and even laws of the State. The one close-clinging sin, intermixed with all the forms of social, public, and even domestic life, was idolatry. With this the Christian convert could

Christian
and Heathen
Society.

make no compromise. The result was separation, which often involved the disruption of families; the breaking up of all business or trade interests upon which depended a livelihood; the incurring of the enmity of old-time friends, associates, and often relatives, which not infrequently led to a martyr's death. This separation involved a constant restraint, lest old habits, passions, associations, finding occasion in the multiplied points of conflict between the new faith and the old accustomed life, should bring the believer into sin and disgrace. Such Christian watchfulness, circumspect walking, and careful self-restraint were essential to the Christian in the midst of the dominant heathenism of the first three centuries. Hence, the Christian received a new spirit, lived a new life, developed a new society, with institutions and offices fitted for its needs, which should one day, in the providence of God, take the place of a decaying and fallen state, and raise the fabric of a purer and nobler civilization.

Many trades and occupations were closed to the Christians. Such were all which had to do with the **Trades and Professions.** manufacture or ornamentation of idols, or portrayal of idolatrous scenes, and so, in large part, all decorative art, all trade in objects of idolatrous worship. Actors, and all connected with the stage, were compelled to cease their connection with it on professing faith in Christ. Montanists held that Christians should not even teach in the schools, so permeated was the literature with idolatry; only the simplest trades and callings were without its degrading taint. We must remember these were the most serious and practical questions of the

daily life of Christians for two hundred and fifty years.

Take the case of a soldier who is converted to the Christian faith,—must he therefore desert his colors, and, if unpunished, remain under the stigma of disloyalty; or stay with them, and either take part in the idolatry of the soldiers or die a martyr's death? So Christians were dissuaded from taking public office. The Council of Elvira, 303, ordered that Christian magistrates should not attend church in the year that they served as duumviri, and pronounced upon life and death. Public Life.

What, then, in the life of the Christian took the place of the civic and military duties from which they were excluded; the social life, which centered in idolatrous feasts, or lascivious plays, or cruel games of the amphitheater; the overthrow of business interests, and the intimacies of friendship and domestic life turned to hatred? The one and sufficient answer is, the purity and fellowship of the early Christian society. Christian Fellowship. Profession of faith in Christ made essential personal communion with God and purity of life. Of these things their heathen enemies testified. But the charm which drew men from the world, and held them safe amid manifold trials and temptations, was the love of God manifested in the fellowship of the Christian society. Great as have been the victories of the fellowship of the Christian faith in all the ages since, it may be doubted if it was ever purer or more fervent and attractive than in the Church of persecution and martyrdom. By them was accepted, realized, and they rejoiced in the test, "We know that we have passed from death unto life, be-

cause we love the brethren." Tertullian tells us that the heathen said, "See how these Christians love one another." This was promoted by the common meal, or love-feast, partaken for the first two centuries in connection with the Sunday worship, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Afterward as an evening meal, it continued until the fourth century. At both love-feast and sacrament all distinctions of rank faded away. The Christian master and the Christian slave sat side by side. The inequalities of fortune were forgotten, and all were brethren and sisters in the Lord, greeting each other with the holy kiss. The world, into which they were born, and which they had known, with many individuals of high character, and many domestic, civil, and martial virtues, was yet a world without love—the very picture of a materialized society; the world into which he entered through the Christian faith as by a second birth, was a world loving God, receiving and manifesting his love in a fellowship as wonderfully attractive as it was unique. It was not so hard to die in a company so lowly and so noble, so pure in faith, so ardent in affection, and so triumphant in hope.

The source of all that made glad the heart of the Christian was his communion with God. The teaching of the unity of God wrought an intellectual and moral revolution to one brought up in idolatry. How could there be communion with the multifarious gods of heathenism? But the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, came near to men. He was *our* Father, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. In him was the basis of this fellowship. The marked characteristic of the life of indi-

vidual Christians—from all we know from the documents, the narratives and memorials upon the tombs of the early Christians which have come down to us—is joyfulness; not simply cheerfulness, but joyfulness. These despised Christians had their ministration of the Holy Spirit that made them able always to rejoice. They, and they only, were victorious in this dying world.

This purity, fellowship, and rejoicing was ministered to by the instruction, the worship, and discipline of the Church. The instruction of the Church was most definite and precise in **Instruction.** the preparation for baptism. "The catechumens were instructed in the great articles of the Creed (Apostles'), the nature of the sacraments, and penitential discipline of the Church. Special examinations and inquiries into character were made at intervals during the forty days. It was a time of fasting, watching, and prayer." This instruction was continuously followed by the reading of the Scriptures and committing passages to memory in private or in the home when possible, or in the worship of the Church; and also by that great means of expounding Christian doctrine and enforcing Christian practice, the preaching of the Word. All the great doctors of the Church were preachers; and, in the early years, laymen, as well as men ordained, could preach.

The worship of the Church was at first mainly during the first half of this period eminently social in character. Its psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, its unpremeditated prayer and **Worship.** its accustomed forms for common supplication both in use, made the worship one of thanksgiving rather

than one of expiation, and gave a sense of freedom and fellowship which were unknown in the Church when the love-feast and offering of fruits and grain in the service of the Eucharist gave way to the restraint of a fixed and stately, and often tedious, ceremonial. The lessons of the worship of the Lord's-day were deepened when the solemnities of Lent, the rejoicings of Easter and Pentecost, were filled out in the round of the Christian year. If there was less of freedom, there was more of order and an unceasing inculcation of Christian truth of value to the ruder nations of the North.

The discipline of fasting two days in the week was to inculcate self-restraint. The discipline of the

Discipline. Church was invaluable in making supreme moral obligations without respect of persons, and in deepening the sense of sin, while holding out the hope of pardon. It had its characteristic faults, and it failed in the end, but only when the monastic life had absorbed nearly all the more earnest Christians under a still more rigorous rule. This discipline, first Christian and then monastic, testified to the universal supremacy of moral obligation during the ages of national decay, and when the darkness of intellectual night settled down over Christendom.

The reality of this Christian fellowship was shown in the protection the Church afforded to the weak or the unfortunate from the fraud and violence which had long known no restraint except that of force. The Church believed in justice in business relations. The soil, in many places, was tilled by tenants whose interest passed from father to son, and who

**Christianity
in Business
Relations.
The Ser-
coloni, or
Hereditary
Tenants.**

were called *coloni*, but who were practically serfs. With these tillers of the land every sort of fraud was used to get as much out of them as possible, as they were too poor to obtain the protection of the law. Extracts gathered by Uhlhorn show clearly their condition and the work of the Church.

"How they ill use the poor farmers!" exclaims Chrysostom. "Do they treat them more humanely than the barbarians do? They do not hesitate to impose insupportable burdens, daily heavier, upon those who are perishing with hunger, who are toiling away their lives. Whether the land yields anything or nothing, they always demand the same." In them, too, the Church took an interest. Theodoret, in a letter (Ep. 23), entreats a land-owner for some indulgence toward the *coloni* of his flock: "Have pity on the laborers who have labored in the fields and have gained but little. Let the scanty harvest be an occasion to thee of a plentiful spiritual harvest." Augustine seriously appeals to the conscience of one Romulus, concerning his oppression of *coloni*, on whom double supplies were about to be imposed, and threatens him with eternal judgment: "They toil for a short time; but do thou look to it that thou heap not up treasure against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God." Gregory the Great's letters (Epist. i, 51, I, 56) show how careful he was about the welfare of the common people, and contain a number of directions to his *defensores* (agents) for the alleviation of their condition. He writes to his Subdeacon Anthemius: "Not only by frequent injunctions, but also personally, have I, as I remember, exhorted thee to have less in view, in thy deportment

as our vicar, the temporal profit of the Church, than the alleviation of the miseries of the poor, and, on the contrary, to protect them against whatever oppression may be inflicted on them." To the Subdeacon Peter, too, who administered the Church property in Sicily, he gives this excellent advice: "I desire that the noble and respectable may honor thee for thy humility, and not loathe thee for thy pride. But if thou shouldest see them commit an injustice against the poor, then quickly raise thyself up from thy humility, so that thou mayest be submissive to them as long as they act justly, but their opponent as soon as they do evil." Gregory, having learned that many farmers, constrained to pay their taxes before selling their harvests, were having recourse to loans, and thus falling into the hands of usurers, commissions Peter, the subdeacon, to make them an advance out of the Church resources, which they may repay by installments. Thus the Deacon Cyprian receives a like commission. He is to make advances to the farmers, that they may not get money elsewhere, since they will then have either to pay interest or have their produce undervalued. "For these neither will the Church treasury be ruined nor the prosperity of the farmers destroyed."

"The Church opposed whatever violence was exercised by the rich and noble against the poor and humble, and, as Ambrose says, protected the Naboths against the Ahabs, of whom a new one rose up every day." One of the circumstances by which Chrysostom drew down upon himself the wrath of the Empress Eudoxia was this: The empress, relying upon a certain law, desired

**Resistance
to Violence
of the
Powerful.**

to possess herself of the vineyard of a poor widow for a payment in money. Chrysostom protected the widow in her possessions, uninfluenced by the wealth of the empress. The property of widows and orphans was frequently intrusted to the Church for preservation and management. Augustine once mentions this, and adds: "The bishops protect the orphans that they may not be oppressed by strangers after the death of their parents." In Pavia, a respectable man had surreptitiously obtained an imperial rescript, by which the property of an orphan, held as a deposit by the Church, was adjudged to him. Nevertheless, Ambrose refused to deliver it up, withstood all the threats and annoyances of the corrupted officials, and at last effected a withdrawal of the rescript. Many of Augustine's letters treat of the proposed marriage of an orphan girl who had been intrusted to the Church, and the care of whom the bishop, notwithstanding his numerous cares and labors, did not neglect. He writes to Felix: "For your piety knows what care the Church and the bishops should take for the protection of all men, but especially of orphan children."

The charity of the early Church was as marked as the fellowship from which it sprang, and the joyous spirit with which it was administered. Paul insists on the necessity of labor, not only for self-support, but that Christians may have to give to the needy. He taught the dignity of labor by working with his own hands. The apostle whose Lord worked as a carpenter, recognized the value of labor, the independence which it confers, and the curse and moral degradation of idleness. The rule he gave was that "if any would not

Christian
Charity.
Necessity
and Dignity
of Labor.

work, neither should he eat." The charity of the Church did not rest on the great gifts of the wealthy, or on vast endowments for the relief of social need, but on the self-denial and the spirit of Christian love and brotherhood of the laboring classes. The first duty of the Church in regard to social relations was to find work for the unemployed, a much harder task in days of slavery than in ours; but which it was forward to do. From the beginning the Church took care of its own poor, its sick, widows, and orphans. The poor at Jerusalem were specially remembered, as were always the widows and the desolate, widows above sixty years of age having a life pension from the Church.

The fruits of labor were not for selfish enjoyment. The Christian spirit prompted to large and generous hospitality; letters of Christian fellowship were of substantial value. Covetousness was rebuked, and on every hand aid commanded to be given to the poor. This was illustrated and enforced in every service for worship. The Lord's Supper, observed each week in the smallest Christian assembly, always had an oblation or presentation of gifts for the poor. This charity, in its method, was as considerate and Christian as it was unceasing and abundant. The membership of the Church gave to the Lord as a part of divine worship, and the poor received it from the Lord as ministered through his Church. For this congregational care of the poor were set apart the deacons, the deaconesses, and the widows of the Church. There did not fail personal investigation and ministration to the suffering and distressed. The ardent love which

**The Service
of Wealth.
Hospitality,
Care of the
Poor and
Distressed.**

prompted thank-offerings to God in compassion for human need, brought as well personal service. In the capital of the world, in the early part of the third century, the Roman bishop could boast there was no Christian beggar in that vast population. Twenty-five years later another bishop reckoned one thousand five hundred widows and poor under the care of the Church. The heathen Emperor Julian renders unwilling testimony to the continued and unbounding charity of the Christian Church.

When Christianity became the religion of the State, the Church care of the poor, instead of being the relief of those in need in Christian congregations, became that of the poor of the entire community, under the charge of the bishop. Basil himself attended to the sick and the leprous. Chrysostom lived a life of simplicity and self-denial in the midst of Byzantine luxury, while filling the most splendid ecclesiastical station of the age. At Antioch his Church cared for three thousand widows and virgins, while at Constantinople he fed daily seven thousand poor. At Alexandria seven thousand five hundred received the care of the Church. Ambrose takes special care of the poor; and Augustine desires no other garment than such as he can give to a poor brother. Gregory I had every month carts full of provision driven through the city for the relief of the poor, and distributed among them grain, oil, wine, and meat. Every one in distress expected relief from the bishop; the poor Roman, homeless through the ravages of the barbarians, and the wild German, when suffering or in need, equally sought his aid, and never

The Congregational Charity becomes that of the Bishop for the Community.

found refusal. Yet this beneficence was subject to such impositions, when there could be no longer the close personal supervision of congregational care, that it is the burden of the complaint of Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, and Chrysostom. It seemed impossible to deal with it amid the appalling distress whose reality was unquestioned.

The necessity for this more careful discrimination, and the rise of monasticism, caused the care of the poor to become institutional. The individual Christian no longer felt it his duty to minister to the suffering and afflicted through the weekly offerings which were distributed by those having charge of the dependent members of the flock, the offering and the ministration, both a work of Christian love. Now an order of men and women performed this service. One-fourth of the revenues of the Church which came into the hands of the bishop were devoted to the care of the poor and the needy. Not only the current revenues from the offerings of the faithful, but the income of the large landed estates of the Church, were used for this purpose.

Personal solicitations did not cease, but the motive was no longer the warm Christian love moved to compassion by a brother's need. From 250 it was taught that alms purged away sin. Leo thus expresses the thought: "Alms destroy sins, abolish death, extinguish the penalty of eternal fire." The great influence of Augustine extended the merit of alms beyond death: "It is not to be doubted that the dead are assisted by the prayers of the Church, by the saving sacrifice, and

**The Care of
the Church
for the Poor
becomes In-
stitutional.**

**The
Motive for
Bestowing
Alms.**

by alms which are offered for their souls, and that the Lord deals more mercifully with them than their sins have deserved." This teaching was elaborated into the doctrine of purgatory by Gregory the First, and was the motive for the abundant gifts of the succeeding ages.

This charity of the Church developed forms of wider usefulness after Christianity became the religion of the empire. Basil was the pioneer in this work. He established the first Christian hospital at Neo-Cæsarea, in 370. Charitable
Institutions,
Hospitals,
etc. It was a new thing in the heathen world. About it were grouped houses for strangers and for widows and orphans. The example of Basil found quick imitation. In 375, Ephrem Syrus established one at Edessa; Chrysostom founded one at Antioch, and two at Constantinople. They were commended by the Council of Chalcedon, 451. They were first established in Rome, 398, by friends of Jerome. They became prevalent in the West from 500 to 550. Under Gregory I, 590-604, there were a large number in Italy, and thirty-five in Constantinople. Institutions were also established for the care of orphans, foundlings, and the aged; and asylums for the insane, the blind, deaf and dumb, and for magdalens. These institutions were at first under the oversight of the bishop, but were afterward confided to a separate monastic order.

The self-sacrificing love of the Christians did not stop with fellow-believers. Cyprian, 248-258, tells of the devastating plague at Carthage, and how the Christians buried the dead left by the heathen in the streets and the homes, and so saved Caring for
the Dead.

the city from further infection. The same service was rendered at Alexandria amid like circumstances

One form of beneficence peculiar to those times was the redemption of Christians taken into captivity and slavery. For the purchase of the free-

Release of the Captives. dom of the Numidian captives Cyprian collected in a few days \$3,500. The great bishops of the time, and those under them, again and again sold the sacramental vessels of the Church to ransom captives. Gregory I says: "It would be a sin and a crime to esteem the furniture of the Church above the prisoners." Candidus, Bishop of Sergiopolis, on one occasion ransomed 12,000 prisoners for \$45,000. Prices were sometimes much higher. The Lombards demanded \$350 for a clergyman, while \$45,000 was paid as the ransom of two Cilician bishops. The Church and individuals were zealous in the work. On the gravestone of a Christian woman, Eugenia, we read: "With her treasures she delivered the prisoners from unjust fetters." Thus the Christian Church ministered to the overwhelming distress of the times. Well may Ulhorn say: "What would have become of the Roman Empire without Christianity? What numbers has the Church assisted; how much misery it alleviated; how many tears it dried! It ministered comfort and consolation to a dying world."

If Pompeii revealed to the modern world what heathenism was, the catacombs made a revelation

The Catacombs. equally marvelous and irrefragable in regard to the life of the early Christian Church. The inscriptions—more than ten thousand in number—represent the life of the Christian society from the first century until the fall of Rome, in

410. In the rooms used as places of worship, and as family burial-places, and in the hundreds of miles of the tombs of the Christian community, are made clear the theology, the Christian usages, the cycle of Christian thoughts, and, above all, the conceptions of the life beyond. The prominent elements of the Christian life, as there depicted, are purity, fellowship, family affection, and serene cheerfulness. Though a cemetery, there are revealed only abiding peace and joyful hope. No examples are found in the inscriptions of prayer for the dead, clerical celibacy, or the worship of Mary.

CHAPTER III.

THE MONASTIC LIFE

THE fourth century saw the rise and rapid spread of that ideal of Christian life which has largely affected the life of the Church since. It dominates the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches. There is no mention of it in the New Testament, and its life and ideals are the farthest possible from the teachings of our Lord, or of St. John or St. Paul. In the life of the early Church there was, on account of the present distress, a tendency toward celibacy. But there is only one passage, and that highly figurative (Rev. xiv, 4), which intimates that the celibate is superior to the married state, though it may be less burdensome, and afford greater opportunities for the performance of Christian work. The influence of St. James and the example of John the Baptist were in its favor; but with Paul, according to his own testimony, it was a matter of expediency; while Peter, certainly living in marriage, has been honored as the chief of the apostles by the Churches most exalting celibacy.

The monastic ideal was: First, a withdrawal from the world; second, a mortification of the flesh through severe fastings, denials of comforts, punishments like the wearing of haircloth or chains, the neglect of the body; third, the life of contemplation and prayer, dwelling solely upon God,

his Word, and the future life. This ideal, realized in a community of men or of women living in common, under rule, and bound by vow to chastity, poverty, and obedience, under a superior as the head of the community, forms the monastery. The ideal of such a life has never been better expressed than by St. Bernard: "To occupy one's self with God is not to be idle; it is the occupation of all occupations." The power of this ideal must not be undervalued. To do so is to fail to understand a large and influential portion of the history both of civilization and of the Church. There is need in Christian life for detachment from the world; there is need for the denial and subjection of the body; there is need, if there is to be strength in the Christian soul and saving health in the Christian Church, for converse with God and dwelling upon his great thoughts for men. If these things are forgotten, or die out of the life of the Church at large, God will raise up, and believing hearts will find a refuge where they may perpetuate themselves; and so the life of Christ may not fade from the vision of any generation of men. We need, for our own spiritual culture as well as understanding, to read sympathetically the record of this age-long striving after holiness, which preserved the power of the Christian life and the graces of the Christian spirit in ages of ignorance and violence, and of the secularization and sale of the holiest and most sacred offices of the Christian religion. It was a refuge from oppression, the abode of boundless kindness and charity to the poor, the wretched, and suffering, and a realm of quietude of spirit in a wild and stormy world.

But this element of truth and this service of righteousness and charity must not blind us to the reality of things, to the facts of history. The monastic ideal and life is but a partial and one-sided development of the Christian ideal, Christian teaching, and Christian life. Instead of endeavoring so to preach and apply the gospel of Jesus Christ as to save the whole man and the whole realm of society, it devotes itself to a part of our nature and a part of society, neglecting or suppressing the rest. The nature thus distorted had its own revenge. The age of the greatest supremacy of monastic institutions was an age when Christianity must be reformed or die. No corruptions of a corrupt age and Church equaled the corruptions of the monasteries.

The tendency toward celibacy and poverty in the early Church did not result in the formation of a class of ascetics. The earliest notice of such is not before 150. At the same time it may be that the apostles and teachers mentioned in the "Teaching of the Twelve," in their life of wandering and evangelization, had no ties of family and home. This seems to be the state of things presented to us in the so-called "Letter of Clement," about 300, where, also, the abuses to which it led point to the monastic life as a remedy.

There were many contributing causes to the development of the monastic life. Among them may be mentioned the idea of two standards of holiness and moral obligation,—one for the ordinary Christian, and another for the "religious" or more devout: the teaching of Greek phi-

The Reverse
Side of the
Monastic
Life.

No Monasti-
cism in the
Early
Church.

Causes of the
Origin and
Spread of
Monasticism.

losophy adopted by Origen, that the mind is purified and strengthened by the denial and ascetic treatment of the body; the insistence upon the opposition between the flesh and the spirit by the heretical sects, and the influence of those rigoristic ideals of Montanism which, being cast out of the Church, found refuge in the monastic circles; and the contemplative spirit of the Eastern races. With these wrought the political revolutions of the third century, the licentiousness and luxury of heathen society, the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian, and the ruin brought upon the empire by the barbarian invasions. To these were added the sorrows, sufferings, and disappointments which so often turn the course of the life of individuals.

But the chief causes which determined the Christian spirit toward this ideal were two,—the secularization of the Church, and the opportunity afforded by the physical and social condition of the population of Egypt for beginning such a life. The Church of Cyprian is no longer the Church of denial, purity, humility, and the spiritual gifts of the first two centuries. The narrative of Eusebius shows the Church largely secularized before the Diocletian persecutions. This, which was the green tree before Constantine, became the dry when heathenism pressed into the State Church. The Christian ideal could not be realized in the established Church of the fourth century. That ideal could not die. It fled to the deserts and the retreats far from the world, society, and the great but secularized Church. In these at least, poverty, humility, and self-conquest should not die out of Christianity, while

**The Two
Chief Causes.
The Seculariza-
tion of the
Church.**

opportunity should be given for dwelling upon the eternal things of God, in whose presence the changes of human life and the revolutions in the history of the State and the Church are of so little importance.

Egypt gave the opportunity for the development of this spirit of discontent with the great Church of the empire, in the direction of a flight from the world and the formation of monastic societies. A severe pestilence, which decimated the population, may have given an initial impulse. The climate allowed the reduction of the necessities of human existence to a minimum. The warmth and even temperature, the bright and clear atmosphere, made necessary only the smallest amount and the simplest food. The soil in such a climate allowed the raising of the amount required with the least care and exertion, while the poor Coptic population had lived for ages with so little of the external conveniences or ornaments of life that the simplicity of the barest cell could scarcely impose an unaccustomed hardship, nor the fasts of the most rigorous self-denial distress them.

The way for this, like all great changes, was gradually prepared. From 200 to 250 there were ascetic virgins and widows in the Church. From 260, members of the lower classes went into the desert and led a solitary life. A representative of this class is St. Symeon Stylites, who lived, 423-460, on the top of a pillar whose summit was only three feet in diameter, surrounded by a balustrade, and whose height was raised at different times from twelve to sixty feet. He fasted, taking but one meal a week, and less in Lent. About his neck he wore a

heavy iron chain. Three Christian emperors came to see him—Theodosius II, Marcian, and Leo—and crowds of strangers from all lands. By his life and exhortations he converted multitudes of Saracens and other nomads of the desert. About 300, Hieracas, a follower of Origen, at Leontopolis, gathered around him a society of ascetics, whom he trained in theological studies and a life of self-conquest. They were in a position between the ascetics, who did not abandon family life and society, and those who followed the monastic life. Though monasticism was known before Christianity among the devotees of Brahmanism and the regular monkish orders of Buddhism, and there had been in Egypt heathen recluses who dwelt in the same cell fifteen or twenty years, and the successive steps in Christianity of ascetics, hermits, and unorganized bodies of disciples around a single teacher or guide, yet before 300 there is no trace of monasticism. Our earliest account is from Egypt, 310. It spread rapidly, and soon after was found in Palestine and Syria.

All tendencies become crystallized into institutions only through some remarkable individual. Such was St. Antony, who more than any other was the founder of the monastic life in Christendom. St. Antony.

Antony was an Egyptian, of the Coptic race and speech, and descended from wealthy parents, who were Christians. He was born at Coma, Life of Antony. near the Thebaid, about 251. From his parents he received a Christian training, was taught to read, but had no education in Greek literature or philosophy. He was pure in life, attended Church,

and loved his home. The death of his parents, when he was about eighteen years old, changed the whole current of his life, much as the like event did that of Gregory the Great, and the loss of his child the career of Paulinus of Nola. Six months later, while dwelling upon the apostolic example of sharing temporal goods, recorded in the second chapter of Acts, he entered the church, and heard read from the Gospel the words of our Lord to the rich young ruler: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." He regarded it as a voice from God. His lands he gave to his native village, on condition that he should be relieved from the taxes; all his personal property he sold, and gave the proceeds to the poor, except a small amount which he reserved for the support of a little sister, left in his charge by the death of his parents. Soon after he heard read in the church, "Take no thought for the morrow." In compliance with the admonition, he placed his sister under the charge of the virgins of the Church to care for and educate; and selling the remnant of his property and distributing it to the needy, he entered upon an ascetic and contemplative life. In a place not far from his home he began his career. He labored with his hands; part of his earnings he spent for bread; the rest he gave away. He was much in prayer, and gave such attention to reading the Scriptures that what he learned he remembered, so that his memory was his library. He fasted, and slept on the ground. His inward temptations became so great that he went to a tomb near a neighboring village, probably in a cave or grotto, and, taking with

him a supply of bread, shut himself in alone. The next day a friend went by, and, looking in, found him insensible on the ground. He took him to the village, where he revived, but went back to renew the combat.

In the ascetic life, where outward temptations are escaped, inward ones are never wanting. Antony found himself pursued by obscene thoughts **Antony's** and surrounded by visions of nude women. **Temptations.** He believed that demons filled the air about him, sometimes as savage beasts, and sometimes as devils. Not content with assailing his thoughts and defiling his imagination, he was assured that they set upon him with physical violence, the wounds and bruises of which remained after the vision had passed. Confiding in the Divine protection, he rebuked the evil spirits, when they gnashed their teeth upon him and withdrew. There is no question that the austerities weakening his body, with the conflict in his mind, well-nigh unsettled his reason.

After this severe conflict, when about thirty-four years of age, he withdrew to a deserted castle in the mountains. He took with him a sufficient **Retirement** supply of bread for six months. For this **and Counsel.** necessary provision he returned twice a year. For twenty years, in this place, he led a strictly ascetic and contemplative life, tempted again by visions of devils, but comforted by visions of angels. He had now acquired that conquest over self, tranquillity of mind, and large knowledge of human nature, which made him a help and guide to others. So many resorted to him that, at length, to secure the needful retirement, he withdrew still further into the interior, some of the desert tribes showing him a high moun-

tain, with a limpid stream flowing at its base, sweet, cold, and healthful. There were near it a few wild palm-trees. Not far away he found a small tract of ground, which he watered, and upon which he raised the grain and vegetables he required.

He seldom left his retreat; but when he did, the effect was remarkable. Twice he visited Alexandria, **His Visits to Alexandria.** once at the time of the Maximian persecution, 311, when he was sixty years of age. He ministered to the confessors in their chains; when before the tribunal he exhorted them to readiness to suffer, and accompanied them to their death. So great was his influence that the judge ordered no monk to appear in court, but all to withdraw from the city. The others concealed themselves; but Antony remained. He showed himself openly to the governor, and continued his ministration to the confessors and martyrs. At the age of one hundred years he again visited Alexandria. The Arians had falsely reported that he agreed with them. Acceding to the request of the bishops and brethren, he came from his mountain home, and preached publicly against the Arians. All the citizens, the heathen, and even their priests, flocked to the church to see and hear him whom all called the man of God. As many heathen are said to have become Christians in the days of his visitation as previously in the same number of years. Finally, at the age of one hundred and five, the time of his departure drew near. In the prevalent mania for the veneration of relics he had no share. He thought himself no better than the patriarchs, prophets, and Christ himself, who were buried. He commanded his disciples so to bury him

that no man might know the place where rested his remains, which was faithfully done. He ordered gifts of his clothing—his only possessions—to be made to Athanasius and to another bishop who was a long-time friend. Then he kissed the brethren, blessed them, and was peacefully gathered to his fathers.

Antony, through his experience, attained to great practical wisdom. He said: "The weapons against evil spirits are an upright life and faith in God. Prayer, fasting, contempt of money and reputation, love for the poor, with mildness and humility, are the means." This wisdom is evinced by his sayings: "It is our duty to guard against evil thoughts, to keep the soul for the Lord as if a charge accepted from him, so that he may recognize his work as made by him." "Man's great work is to take his guilt upon himself before God, and expect temptations until his latest breath. Without temptations, none can enter into the kingdom of heaven." To an abbot he gave this advice: "Trust not in your own righteousness, and regret not what is already past."

**Wisdom of
Antony.**

Antony attained to such quiet confidence in God, and self-conquest, as became manifest in his countenance. The purity and serenity of his mind gave a composure of manner and a countenance never sad, but so joyful as to diffuse cheerfulness. His life knew neither boasting nor murmuring, but he always gave thanks to God. "God only could heal afflictions, and whenever and to whom he would, he bestowed his benefits."

**Serenity of
Antony.**

Antony impressed his own age. His life, written by Athanasius, and the influence of Athanasius upon

Jerome, gave such an impetus to the monastic life, both in the East and West, that he appears as the real founder of monasticism. In Antony, that life is seen in its fairest colors; for he had a peculiar vocation to a contemplative life, and that sound understanding which preserved him from the extravagances so soon to appear in the monastic life.

The Founder of Monasticism. The monastic life spread with great rapidity in the East. The earliest form of rule for a monastic community is that of Pachomius, 350. It has **Development of Eastern Monasticism.** one hundred and ninety-four heads or divisions, and its minute regulations and scrupulosity would drive mad an ordinary man. In Jerome's time—fifty years later—it numbered fifty thousand adherents.

Rule of Basil. The rule of the greatest repute in the East was that of St. Basil, 330–390. An intimate knowledge of human nature, common sense, and high-toned piety characterize this rule. The whole life was given to prayer. The canonical hours were observed, the midday hour being divided into two, so as to make seven times a day. Work was not neglected for prayer; for while the tongue was employed in petition and praise, the hands were busy. The food was such as should nourish the body, and whatever was placed upon the table should be eaten. The clothing of the monk should show humility, simplicity, and cheapness. He was to wear the same garment day and night, and never to change it for work or rest. Weaving and shoemaking were the vocations preferred, and above all agriculture. Brothers working at a distance were to keep the hours of

prayer in the field. No one was to call anything, either shoe, or vestment, or any necessary of life, his own. Silence was strictly observed, and no woman was allowed in the precincts of the monastery. Medicine should not be rejected under the false notion that it is an interference with the will of God. No one was to leave the convent without the license of the superior. Such a monastery had its oratory, refectory, and other monastic offices, and orderly rows of contiguous cells inclosed in a high, protecting wall; and without were often straggling groups of cabins for the anchorites. From these their inmates repaired every Saturday and Sunday to the monastery for worship and instruction, bringing with them the mats and baskets and other articles they had finished, and taking back materials for the work of the next week, together with a supply of bread and water, after having partaken of a little cooked food and wine in the general refectory.

The monastery of Santa Laura, on Mount Athos, is the type of the monasteries of the East. Its fortified inclosure includes between three and four Santa Laura. acres, comprising two courts, in the center of which stands the catholicon, or church, surrounded by an open cloister, on which, from three sides, the cells open. The refectory, which opens from the west cloister facing the church, is a cruciform hall, the arms about one hundred feet in length and rounded at the ends. The monks in the East were orthodox and realistic. Their partisanship was ignorant, fierce, and cruel, as was experienced by Flavian and Hypatia. They felt the corrupting influence of the prevalent saint and angel worship, and the ven-

eration of relics. The monasteries were under the jurisdiction of the bishops. As the Greek clergy marry, the monastic life has never affected the life of the clergy as in the West; but from it always came the incumbents of the bishoprics and the higher offices of the Church. Eastern monasticism was never as active or industrious, or exerted as great an influence upon learning and civilization, as the Western monastic institutions; still it is the complement and necessary support of the great secular Byzantine Church.

The monastic life was commended to the West by the visit of Athanasius, the influence of the institutions of Basil upon the bishops banished to the East during the Arian controversy, and the exhortations of Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine. But the real founder of Western monasticism was Eusebius Hieronymus, better known as St. Jerome.

**Monastic
Life in the
West.**

The place of his birth was Strido, not far from Aquileia, in the year 346. His parents were orthodox Christians. They were not wealthy, but owned houses and slaves. They probably perished in the Gothic invasions of 377. Paulinian, a brother, twenty years younger, lived constantly with Jerome after 385; a sister also, after a wayward life, embraced asceticism. Jerome was brought up in comfort, and had a good education. At about seventeen years of age he went to Rome for its completion. Professing the Christian faith, he was baptized before 366. Afterward he visited Gaul, staying most of the time at Treves. From 370 to 373 he lived an ascetic life with Rufinus and other friends at Aquileia. In 374 he traveled through Thrace,

**St. Jerome.
His Life.**

Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, to Antioch. For five years, 374-379, he lived as a hermit among other monks in the desert of Chalcis, near Antioch. He was ordained presbyter at Antioch in 379, and then studied under the celebrated Apollinaris of Laodicea. In 380-381 he was at Constantinople, and enjoyed the tuition of Gregory of Nazianzen; he was also acquainted with Gregory of Nyssa. At that time weakness of his eyes made dictation necessary, and this was henceforth his usual method of composition. Here he translated into Latin Eusebius and Origen. From 382 to 385 he was in Rome, the secretary of Pope Damasus, and acknowledged to be the most learned man of his time. He was not chosen Pope, as he had some expectation, and journeyed to Antioch, Jerusalem, and Egypt in 386. While in Egypt he studied with Didymus the Blind, the last great catechetical teacher of Alexandria. After visiting the Egyptian monasteries, he came to Bethlehem in the fall of 386. There he founded a monastery, in which he lived until his death, twenty-four years later, in 420. In this monastery he gave himself to Biblical studies and expounded the Scripture daily.

The excitable, vain, and somewhat arrogant disposition of Jerome involved him in abundant controversy. He wrote against Jovinian in defense of celibacy; against his former friend Rufinus, in condemnation of Origen; and against Vigilantius, in favor of the veneration of martyrs, celibacy, and asceticism. He contended with his bishop, John of Jerusalem, and, through a misunderstanding for which he was not to blame, with Augustine.

Jerome was not a theologian; but his wide and

accurate knowledge, versatile talent, literary style, and his indefatigable industry were used for the advancement of Biblical learning, and his services were surpassed by Origen alone, whom he excelled in a more sober and rational exegesis. He was the best Hebrew scholar among the fathers. His great achievement, to which he devoted twenty-three years of his life, was the translation of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures into the Latin language. This is the Vulgate Version, a translation never surpassed except by the English Version of 1611, and the German of Luther. In his studies on the canon, he drew the marked distinction between the Old Testament Scriptures and the Apocrypha, which has been insisted on by Protestants. He rejected purgatory and millenarianism, and held to the original equality of bishops and presbyters. In his "Commentaries" he endeavored to develop the literal and historic sense. On this account, and the wide range of his information, he is more helpful to the expositor than any other of the fathers. Jerome was passionate and bitter, vehement and vacillating, full of prejudice and abusive in controversy, with a nervous dread of heresy that deprived him of high moral courage. He was credulous and superstitious; but he was a man, through all sickness, disappointment, and disaster, of indomitable industry, thorough scholarship, and self-denial, and a literary style which gives interest to all he wrote. In that nature, so stormy and so long disciplined, there must have been a rare power of attraction to gather around him such a circle of friends as those of which he was the center. These friends were mainly women, and women of the highest circles of the Roman aris-

ocracy. Through them and their friends he exerted that influence which so powerfully promoted the monastic life in the West. The times were those of the dissolution of Roman society and the overthrow of the Roman rule and civilization; no other source gives so vivid a picture of this period as the Letters of Jerome, from which these details are drawn. We see clearly the influences which promoted the monastic life, and the refuge it proved amid the throes of a dying world.

The first Roman lady to begin the ascetic life was Marcella. She was descended from the family of the Marcelli, and had great wealth. Her mother, Albina, was left a widow by her father's early death. She entertained Athanasius when Marcella. he came to Rome, in 340. Marcella married, and seven months later was left a widow, which she remained during life. She lived with her mother, in her palace on the Aventine and at her country seat near Rome. She began an ascetic life in 374. She lived simply, giving her wealth to the poor, but was moderate in her austerities, following the counsels of her mother, whom she never left. She met Jerome in 382. Her house became a center where a circle of wealthy ladies gathered around her for the study of the Scriptures, and for singing and prayer. After her mother's death, in 387, she lived in a little house outside the city, with her friend Principia, and devoted her whole time to good works. In the sack of Rome, 410, she was injured by the Goths, and died a few days afterward.

The first of the aristocratic ladies of Rome to make a pilgrimage to Palestine, and there begin an

ascetic life, was Melania. She was the daughter of the consular Marcellinus, and was born about 350.

She married, but was left a widow at
Melania. twenty-two years of age. Two of her three children died soon after their father. She placed her son in the charge of the urban prætor, and sailed for Palestine in 372. She had met Jerome and his friend Rufinus, the translator of Origen into Latin. Rufinus was in her company in Egypt in 374, and within six months was imprisoned, in the persecution under Valens. Melania went to Palestine, where, upon the Mount of Olives, in 375, she founded a community of fifty virgins. Her house was open to all. She was acquainted with John, Bishop of Jerusalem, with Jerome, and with Paula, while Rufinus made his home there after his release. In 397, after an absence of twenty-five years, she returned to Rome to persuade her granddaughter, Melania the younger, to embrace an ascetic life. She found her married, and failed to separate her from her husband. On her way Rufinus traveled with her. They visited Augustine in Africa, and Paulinus at Nola. For the next two years she lived at Rome with her son, his two children, and his son-in-law. In 408 her son died, and the family left Rome. They traveled to Sicily and Africa, where she had estates. Rufinus accompanied them, and died in Sicily. They passed over to Africa, where her widowed daughter-in-law remained. Melania left them, and went on to Jerusalem, where she died forty days after her arrival, in 410.

Melania, her granddaughter, was born in 383. When about thirteen she married a husband who was seventeen years of age. They were tenderly at-

tached to each other. When the elder Melania returned to Jerusalem, she remained at Sagaste, in Africa, where her brother died. The wealth of ^{Melania} the grandmother came into her hands. She ^{the Younger.} gave away the estates she inherited in Gaul and Italy, but retained those in Spain and Africa. She is said to have liberated eight thousand slaves. Robbed of her property by Count Heraclian, she traveled with her husband and mother to Egypt, and settled in Bethlehem in 414. They attached themselves to Jerome and the younger Paula. She reconciled the followers of Rufinus and Jerome. From her husband, Pisanus, she separated that he might become the head of a monastery, while she entered a convent. In 437 she is said to have visited Constantinople.

The lives of two other noble women show the same tendency. Perhaps these details may be pardoned if they make the conditions of the ^{Furia and} time more real, and clearer the forces im- ^{Fabiola.} pelling to the monastic life. Furia was of the oldest Roman aristocracy, and possessed a vast fortune. Her father and father-in-law were both consulars. Her husband died early, leaving her with a family of young sons and an infirm father. Through the influence of her deceased mother and that of Jerome, she remained a widow. Fabiola was extremely wealthy, and of aristocratic descent. The vices of her first husband forced her to divorce him. For protection, she married a second husband while the first was still alive; hence she was excluded from the Church. After the death of her second husband she went through a public penance, and was restored to its communion. She sold all her possessions, and sup-

ported monasteries in Italy and the islands; she ministered personally to the wants of the poor. In 395 she visited Bethlehem, and was greatly attached to Jerome. She returned, when—with the aid of Pammachius, the son-in-law of Paula—she established a hospital at Pontus, near Rome. In this she ministered personally to the worst and most offensive cases of disease and suffering until her death, in 399.

By far the most interesting of this group of wealthy, intelligent, and pious women, was Paula, and her family. Her mother and husband were descended from the greatest names in the history of Rome, while her father traced his descent to Agamemnon. She possessed great wealth, owning the whole town of Actium, called, from the victory of Augustus, Nicopoli. She was born in 347. She married early, and her husband died in 380, leaving her, at thirty-three years of age, with a family of four daughters and a son. In 382 she entertained Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, and Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch. Through them she became acquainted with Jerome, and received an impulse toward the ascetic life. Her married daughter, Blæsilla, lost her husband, and died in 384, in consequence, as it was thought, of ascetic severities. Another daughter, Paulina, married, in 385, the Senator Pammachius, the cousin of Marcella, a man of learning, ability, and eloquence, the friend of Jerome and Augustine. Paulina, his wife, died in 397. After his wife's death he became a monk, while retaining his position as senator. He gave munificently to the poor, and, with Fabiola, established a hospital at Pontus of world-wide fame. He died in the siege of

Rome by Alaric, in 409. In 386, Paula took her daughter Eustochium with her, leaving behind her daughter Rufina—who died soon after—and her son Toxatius, and sailed for the East. She visited Epiphanius at Cyprus, and met Jerome at Antioch. They went to Egypt, and returned and settled in Bethlehem in 386. This was her home until her death, eighteen years later, in 404. Paula knew Greek and Latin, and learned Hebrew. She had great love for the Scriptures, and read through the whole Bible with Jerome. She managed a convent for women with patience and tact. Once one of the wealthiest women of Rome, she gave away all her own and much of her children's property. She dressed in a coarse garb, and presented a sordid appearance while performing all sorts of menial duties in the relief of distress. She was slight in body and weak in health; her mortifications and illnesses wore her away. Her affection for Jerome and his love for her are as touching as any literary fellowship on record.

Eustochium, her daughter, who was the first noble lady to take on the vow of perpetual celibacy, went with her mother to the East, and lived with her until her death. She took her mother's place at the head of the convent and in caring for Jerome, until her death in 418. Like her mother, she knew Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Though small in stature, she possessed great courage and decision of character.

The son of Paula married Leta, the daughter of a heathen priest. Leta became a Christian. She wrote to Jerome in regard to the training of her daughter Paula, in 401. While still a child,

Eustochium.

Toxatius.

but not until after her grandmother's death, she was sent to Bethlehem for her education. She was there in 416.

Of this circle was Paulinus of Nola, visited by Melania and her family. His father was the Roman
Paulinus governor of Gaul, and he was born at Bor-
of Nola. deaux, 353. He was Roman consul before 379. His wealth was so great that Ambrose calls his possessions kingdoms, and Augustine styles him "the richest of the rich." He was liberally educated. The poet Ausonius was his tutor. He reckoned Martin of Tours, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome among his friends. He was baptized when about thirty years of age. Some six years later he married. Within the following year his son and brother died. He was ordained presbyter in 393. He determined to lead a monastic life, and retired to Nola, with his wife Therasia, in 394. There he was made bishop, in 409, and lived until his death, in 431. At Nola he built a monastery and three churches, while he and his wife lived in a humble dwelling. Paulinus gradually distributed his whole property. Uranius, his disciple, says: "He opened his barns to the poor, his storehouses to strangers who arrived. It was too small a thing for him to feed whole provinces; he invited from all quarters those whom he fed and clothed. How many prisoners did he not ransom; how many debtors oppressed by their creditors did he not liberate by paying off their debts, by the same pious deed drying the tears of the debtor and rejoicing the creditor!" His self-sacrifice and devotion are equaled by his humility and affection, and enlivened by a cheerful, playful humor. He was like

his time in his veneration of relics and worship of saints.

No one reading the sources can doubt that the relations of these noble women with Jerome were pure; but there is a sensuousness in his language as he writes to them, which prejudices against the monastic life more than attacks of its foes. Such relations are always hazardous, and often corrupt. Purity of thought and purity of expression are found rather in the life of the Christian home than in that of the convent or monastery.

Western monasticism differed necessarily from that of the East. On account of the climate, different buildings, furniture, dress, and fare **Benedict of Nursia.** were essential. Monasticism first flourished in Southern Gaul in monasteries founded by Greek monks, who studied Greek theology and Christian literature. In the rest of Gaul the bishops opposed monasticism as dualistic in teaching and practice. St. Martin of Tours first turned the tide in favor of the monks. Before long, bishops were taken from the monastery, and proved themselves pure in life and shepherds of the flock, who could neither be forced nor bribed. Jovinian and Vigilantius, adversaries of Jerome, opposed the principles of the monastic life, the merit of good works, asceticism, and celibacy, but were before their time, and the current was too strong for them. The name most influential in Western monasticism was Benedict of Nursia. He was born at Nursia, in the Umbria, about 480. His parents were of the higher class. He was sent to Rome to complete his education. The immorality of his companions drove him to the life of a hermit; for

many years he lived in a cave near Subiaco. At the request of the monks he undertook the government of their monastery, but found the vices of the monks too much for him. He withdrew, probably about 530, to Monte Cassino, where, on the site of an old temple of Apollo, he founded his monastery and published his rule. He was tenderly attached to his sister Scholastica, who became the head of a convent of nuns. He met and rebuked Totila in 542, and died at Monte Cassino in 543.

The Benedictine order was his great achievement. It spread quickly, and, though reformed again and

The Order of Benedict. again, prevailed over all Western Europe.

At the outbreak of the Reformation, there were twelve thousand Benedictine monasteries. It was a great advance over all previous orders. It had a stronger organization, but avoided severe austerities. It divided the daily life between work, study, and prayer. In the summer, Easter to October 1st, work lasted from 6 o'clock to 10 A. M.; then reading, from 10 to 12; the midday meal and a siesta or reading until 2.30; then work until evening. In the winter, October 1st to Lent, the monks read until 7 A. M.; then worked until 3 P. M. In Lent they worked from 9 A. M. until 7 P. M. Every one had to draw a book from the library, and read it through during Lent. The monks always observed the seven canonical hours of prayer (see Hours, p. 278). Eight hours were allowed for sleep. On Sundays and holy days the monks partook of holy communion. The Benedictines were allowed but two meals a day. At each meal two cooked dishes were served; but all flesh-meat was prohibited, though poultry, eggs, and

fish were allowed. Occasionally a third dish of fruit or young vegetables was provided. A pound of bread was given daily for each monk, which the abbot might increase to those who had hard work to do. A pint of wine was served daily to each member of the community, though Benedict recommends voluntary abstinence as the best course. This fare was better than that of the lower classes of any European peasantry of that day. The dress, aside from the outer garb of the order, was allowed to be varied by the abbot, according to the exigencies of the climate and the weather. They did not glory in dirt, but had a change of raiment, and another dress when they went abroad from the monastery. The rule shows knowledge of human nature and strong common sense.

They were a refuge from violence, and could protect both their inmates and those seeking their aid. They represented the moral order of society, the protection of the Almighty God. The prior of Solmes, having offended the Lord of Sable, the latter met him on the bridge of the town, and exclaimed: "Monk, if I did not fear God, I would throw you into the Sarthe." "Monsieur," replied the monk, "if you fear God, I have nothing to fear." They afforded both place and protection to women in an age of violence and fraud. A woman could avoid a hateful marriage by recourse to a convent. There she enjoyed consideration. The abbess of a great Benedictine house held a high position among the proudest nobility of the land. So in the days of invasion, the strong monastery walls not only sheltered the neighboring inhabitants, but preserved them from starvation, when the rapine of

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the Monas-
teries.

marauding bands left nothing for their sustenance. In the famine in Campania, Benedict himself distributed all the stores of the monastery of Monte Cassino to the poor, trusting in God for their renewal. The greatest benefit to civilization of the Benedictine rule was that it restored in Europe the dignity of labor. The free middle class of Rome, which had once been the strength of her armies and the State, had disappeared, and manual labor was performed only by slaves. When the barbarians came in, the prejudice of a strong military class against labor was almost as great as that of the Roman population. But Benedict "taught the world again to work." It was work sanctified by prayer, by quiet contemplation, by the reading of the Scriptures, and by daily worship. Work and worship went hand in hand.

The nearest task for the monastery was the clearing of the forest, the drainage of morass and fen, construction of good roads, and the erection of substantial and noble buildings. The monks not only taught agriculture, preserving the science of the old world which had passed away, but they taught the children of the community in the school. Any bright lad could, through them, come to command all the learning of the time. The taste for literature and learning first shown in the monasteries of Southern Gaul was greatly promoted, immediately after the death of Benedict, by the former Minister of State, Cassiodorus. He was a man of noble family, born in Calabria, a senator, and from 493 until 540, with the exception of a short interval, the minister, first, of Odoacer, and then of Theodoric and his descendants. He then retired to a monastery which he erected at Vivarium.

There he founded a library and a school of copyists, busied with Christian science and classical learning. He lived in this beautiful retreat, and amid congenial occupations, until his ninety-third year. Through his influence, the Benedictine libraries preserved the treasures of the old culture, the masters of Christian theology, and the Latin tongue. The Scriptorium was used daily to copy and illustrate manuscripts of the Scriptures, of the fathers, and of classical literature. The indebtedness of European literature and learning to the monasteries is beyond estimate.

But, nevertheless, the curse of the monastic life followed the Benedictines. Reformed by Bruno and Bernard, they had sunk into idleness and sloth at the founding of the Mendicant Orders, 1215, and were worse than useless at the time of the Reformation. The always-present source of monastic degeneration was its false and perverted view of life and moral conduct. Monks were under the vow of chastity; therefore woman was a venomous serpent. All natural instincts, such as ties of relationship and friendship, were killed outright. A sick brother was waited upon year after year, and yet never spoke a kind word to the attendant monk lest it should injure his humility. A brother, to keep from idle words, carried a large stone in his mouth for years. The loneliness and silence wrought an overscrupulousness, and sometimes insanity. Spiritual pride was seldom absent from the monastery, and ambition and covetousness were frequent guests. The abbot had unlimited power, the power of an Oriental despot, and generally for life. If he were an oppressor, there was usually

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the Monastic
Life.**

no redress. Events of our day prove how cruel monkish punishments can be. A universal system of spying and reporting was inculcated as a religious duty. The monastery walls were prison walls as well. Yet if the abbot was slack in discipline, and wealth increased, in came idleness and sensuality. The most famous epicure of the century, the author of "*The Physiology of Taste*," relates how his first ideas of the gratification of the appetite were received, when, a boy at a feast of monks in a monastery. Coarseness and grossness were not far off, as Chaucer testifies in his "*Canterbury Tales*." An Italian author, writing a century later, 1476, declares that he has several times been present at the marriage of monks and nuns, and that "the well of the nunneries has as many little bones as in Bethlehem at Herod's time. Therefore," he says, "may the earth open and swallow up the wretches alive, with those who protect them!" He adds the following wish: "The best punishment for them would be for God to abolish purgatory; they would then receive no more alms, and would be forced to go back to their spades." Montalembert, the brilliant historian and defender of monasticism, says of its abuses: "They have been pointed out and stigmatized, from the origin of the monastic institution, by those saints and doctors who were its most ardent apologists, by Chrysostom as by Augustine. Combated, pursued, and repressed by the authors of all the rules and of all reforms, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard, these abuses and scandals periodically renewed themselves, like the heads of the hydra."

Aside from all abuses, the social loss caused by

the monastic life was great. The hundreds of thousands of monks in Egypt and Syria, withdrawn from all productive employment and the defense of the land, greatly facilitated the conquests of the Saracens. The withdrawal of the purest and best spirits from the active life of the community lowered the moral tone of the whole. This was progressively weakened as the gentler and more refined members of the community took vows of celibacy, and reared no families; so the succeeding generations were the children of the coarser and more violent. In the circumstances of modern life, the well-trained families of devoted Christian pastors outweigh the moral and spiritual influence of any monastery. From them children go to positions of honor and responsibility in the various callings of life, in the professions, in the walks of learning and the pursuits of science, and in high office in Church and State. On the other hand, the age rejects the spiritual selfishness of the monastic life. In the century following 1789, more of such institutions have been suppressed and destroyed in Roman Catholic countries than in all Protestant lands through the Reformation.

CHAPTER IV.

TURNING POINTS AND RESULTS.

No six centuries of human history or the history of institutions or society pass with an even flow. Change, advance, or retrogression marks each century of the record of the life of man. These changes, as they affected the different parts of the life of the Church and its development, have been related. We look now for the great events which affected the whole course of the life and work of the Church. Such was the reign of Constantine; such was the fall of Rome.

The reign of Constantine made an epoch in Church history. The State and society became outwardly Christian. Christianity entered into legislation to ameliorate the lot of the prisoner and the slave, and to elevate woman. The first great Council of the Church was held, and the first great Conciliar Creed was formulated. The heathen sacrifices, priests, and religion vanished when once the support of the State was withdrawn. Nor can it be said that the Church failed to respond to the great demand made upon her. The great names of her early history are in the century following the conversion of Constantine. But the Church of the entire community, established, paid, and responsible to the State, is always and necessarily different from the voluntary societies under the pagan empire. No

longer worshipping in secret or in cheap and temporary structures, the temples of the heathen gods, the basilicas of the civil administration, and the splendid erections of the emperors were dedicated to purposes of Christian worship. The great, the wealthy, the noble, crowded to the worship of the crucified Nazarene. The beneficial change wrought in society and the State was great. Granted that the century succeeding was one of theological controversy, we must bear in mind how great and how beneficial the change was from the revolutions of the previous century, when the sole motive was the acquisition of political power. Well has Findlay said: "Theological studies (which then engaged the attention of all classes) certainly exercised a favorable influence on general morality, if not on the temper of mankind; and the tone of society was characterized by a purity of manners and a degree of charitable feeling to inferiors which have probably never been surpassed." The changes, however, were not all gain to the Church. The love-feast and the holy kiss in worship, which had been the expression of an ardent and enduring Christian affection, died out. So did the expectation of the speedy second advent of our Lord, which was universal in the Church at the time of Justin Martyr. The generous hospitality and weekly offerings of gifts to the poor ceased. The age of great prelates and of the monastic life had come.

No one individual marks the greatness of this transition and the magnitude of its results more clearly than Eusebius Pamphilius, Bishop of Cæsarea. He was born, probably about 260, at Cæsarea. He lived through the forty years

Eusebius of
Cæsarea.

of peace which the Church enjoyed between the persecutions of Decius and his successors and that of Diocletian. At Cæsarea, on the foundation of Origen, Pamphilius had gathered the best and amplest library in Christendom. That of Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, only a few miles distant, in easy reach, and used by Eusebius, was only second to it. Having been ordained a presbyter, he used these years and opportunities to acquire a vast erudition. Like thunder from a clear sky, broke upon these quiet occupations and laborious studies the Diocletian persecution. Of its horrors, Eusebius was an eye-witness. The friendship and instruction of Pamphilius had been as profitable to Eusebius as the use of his great library. He saw one after another of the Christian Church suffer martyrdom, the church-edifices torn down, the Scriptures thrown into the flames, and the presbyters hunted from place to place before his eyes. His friend and benefactor, whose name he adopted, was taken to prison. He ministered to him for years, and then saw him, with eleven others, led away to die. He beheld Christians tortured and martyred in Tyre and in Egypt, where he himself was imprisoned for the faith. Seven long years, with unforeseen intervals of cessation and of fury, the persecution endured. Then came the peace and the magnificent triumph of the religion of Christ. Eusebius estimated well the momentous nature of the change, and set himself to the work of composing the first history of the Church. All but the last book was probably written between 313 and 315. The last book was added ten years later. Eusebius also conceived, on a grand scale, his "Chronicle," and his "Preparation," and "Demon-

stration of the Gospel." He was the author of numerous other works as well. From 325 to the death of Constantine, 337, he was the chaplain, the intimate and confidential friend of the emperor, though residing mostly at Cæsarea, and declining the See of Antioch. He lived until his eightieth year, having the love and respect of the city where he had exercised his long and useful ministry, and of which he had been bishop for thirty-five years. Eusebius was a scholar and a man of peace, distinguished for his fairness and moderation. In the Arian controversy he was not at home. He bore a prominent and creditable part at Nicæa; but he was a theological conservative; he could not advance beyond the position of Origen, and did not understand the deeper thoughts of Athanasius. His part in the Synods of Tyre and Jerusalem in 335, and Constantinople in 336, where he was led by the Arians under Eusebius of Nicomedia, though probably not sharing in their intrigues and injustice, did not add to his reputation. His tone of adulation in his *Life and Orations on Constantine* also deserves criticism. But the change from the scenes of Christian suffering to the table of the emperor and intimate friendship of a great man, a wise ruler, and one who had been the means of working so great a change in Christian history, was too much for the susceptible nature of Eusebius. If he was too courtly a prelate for a Christian bishop, he at least did not pervert the truth. As a historian he is authentic. He preserves more to us from the early writers of Christianity, from the ancient history of the empires of the world, and from the philosophers, than almost any other writer of ancient times. He

quotes one hundred authors for his ecclesiastical history alone, and is equally abundant in citations in his other great works. His was not a creative mind. He did not know how to use his materials or to tell a story; but he gave us in authentic form the facts. To few men does the Church owe a greater debt. He rescued her early history from oblivion, and wrote the most learned of the Apologies.

The zeal of Constantine for the unity of the Church as a support of the State was manifested in the Donatists' schism. In 311 Mensurius, Donatist Bishop of Carthage, died. His successor, Schism. Cæcilian, was elected by a part of the bishops of the provinces of the metropolitanate, and consecrated by Felix of Aptunga. The bishops not consulted declared the consecration illegal, because Felix, the consecrator, had, as they affirmed and the Catholics denied, been a traditor; that is, had delivered up the Christian Scriptures to be burned in the Diocletian persecution. They held that the faults of the administrator rendered all ecclesiastical acts performed by him null and void. Hence, Cæcilian was not a bishop, because consecrated by Felix; nor his clergy able to administer the sacraments, because ordained by him; nor were those who were baptized by his clergy Christians. Hence arose a division throughout the African Church, which has hardly been surpassed for sectarian bitterness. The Donatists assembled in 330 in one Synod 270 bishops. In spite of the endeavors of Constantine, who ordered an investigation on the spot, and two hearings of the parties—at Arles, 314, and Milan, 316—the schism continued. The Catholics held that the Holy Spirit was in the

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Church and its ordinances irrespective of the faults of the individual administrator, and the Donatists that a Church which did not exclude known sinners was not holy and not a Church. One hundred years later they were as strong as ever. Augustine argued against them, and finally procured against them an imperial decree, 415; but both parties were overwhelmed in the common ruin of the Vandal invasion which their divisions had promoted. Schisms had before arisen on account of the *lapsed* and their treatment, and in opposition to episcopal power; such were those of Felicissimus at Carthage, 250-300; Meletius, in Egypt, 305-365; and Novatian, at Rome, 251-500.

The material evidence of the great change made in the circumstances of Christianity are seen in Christian art. Art is the last expression, the beautiful and enduring flower of a society and civilization. There must be stability to the social order, somewhat of leisure, refinement, and wealth, before there can be character and impressiveness in art. The Christian art of this period has left its memorials in frescoes, mosaics, a few examples of sculpture, the beginning of miniature-painting, and in architecture.

The frescoes which have come down to us are from the walls of the catacombs. They were generally wrought in haste, and by artists of no great skill. There are some examples of rare beauty in wall decoration in the ornamental use of vine, foliage, and flowers, but the figures have usually little grace or beauty. The representations are largely of the events recorded in the Old and New

Testaments. The Christian feeling is everywhere evident in the treatment, which is so symbolical as to have little relation to reality, and the drawings do not require or show great artistic ability. Their value is very great, but more historical than æsthetic.

"Mosaic decoration is the art of arranging small cubes of different substances and various colors, so as

Mosaics. to present an ornamental pattern or an historical or symbolical picture." In eccle-

siastical art pastes of glass artificially colored were used. The gilt cubes, or *tessera*, so abundantly used to give gold back or foregrounds, were "formed by applying two thin plates of glass, with a film of gold-leaf between them, to a cube of earthenware, and then vitrifying the whole in a furnace." Such mosaics may be said to be a Christian art, and used on a grand scale only from the fourth century. The indestructible nature of the material, which made the Italian artist Ghirlandajo call it the only painting for eternity; the subdued richness of its coloring; its grand and solemn character when used in large masses,—make it most appropriate for ecclesiastical use. The finest examples of this work for the period are at Rome, Ravenna, Thessalonica, and in St. Sophia at Constantinople concealed by the whitewash of the Moslems. A fine specimen of Mosaic work at Ravenna shows the figure drawing of Byzantine art.

Only three or four examples of Christian sculpture of the human figure for this period are known. They
Sculpture and Miniature-Painting. only imitate the classic models. The other sculptures of this age, of Christian origin, are the relief around the sarcophagi, or stone coffins, in which the most wealthy interred their

dead. At this time began the practice of indenting squares into the text of Christian MSS., or service books, and painting in them some appropriate scene, and also the elaborate ornament of the text through the artistic illustration of the borders, the beginning and end of the sections, and the capital letters beginning the sections, as well as beautiful writing, and the use of gold or silver letters on the parchments. A few of these from this period, some of them very beautiful, have come down to us.

The main field of Christian art in this period, and the scene of its triumphs, is in architecture, and mainly in the erection of Christian churches. The motive and the occasion were such as to make an epoch in the history of art. The realization of Christian conceptions and aspirations through the art of the architect is an edifice suitable for Christian worship. Structural art can have no higher theme. The opportunity was the greatest. An immense empire had been won to the Christian faith, and was to be provided with places of worship. From whatever source the ruling motives came, the churches of the period may be divided into three classes,—the basilicas; the round churches, an adaptation of the secular memorial or tomb; and the churches of the Byzantine style.

The basilicas were adaptations of the secular basilica, or building for the imperial administration, whether judicial or civil. **Basilicas.** Sketches of the ground-plans show the original idea and their adaptation to Christian use.

The circular churches were found over a wide area, but were never numerous. St. George's, Thessalonica, and the ancient Pantheon at Rome, now converted

into a Christian temple, convey some idea of their appearance and use.

By far the greatest triumph of the builder's art of this period is the Byzantine style of architecture, of which the finest example is St. Sophia, at Constantinople, completed 563. In this style the building is nearly square, on the model of a Greek cross, with a large central dome. This dome first rested on piers or pillars; but the success of the effort at St. Sophia to clear the space below of supports by placing the great dome on two lesser ones, and so securing an audience-room one hundred feet wide and two hundred feet long without an intervening pier or column, found frequent imitation. Such a room, one hundred and seventy feet from the pavement to the ceiling of the dome, made it a most magnificent place for Christian assemblage, though, alas! for more than four hundred years, a place of worship for the followers of Mohammed. A view of the interior of this temple accompanies these pages. The exterior of the churches was not remarkable. Towers and spires were of later date—and St. Sophia was never finished—but the interior was often lavishly adorned and richly furnished. The description of Mr. Nesbit will enable us to realize the interior of a Christian church in a great city of the empire in this period.

"A stately gateway gave admittance to a large court surrounded by covered colonnades, in the center of which was a fountain or vase containing water, so that ablutions might be performed before the church was entered. On one side of this court and entering from it was the baptistery. The

**Interior of
a Basilica.**

basilica was usually placed on the western side of the court, so that the rising sun shone on its front. This front was pierced by three or five doorways, according to the number of the aisles, and in that part which rose above the colonnade of the court windows of immense size admitted light to the interior. The wall between and above these windows was covered, sometimes in parts, with mosaic of glass in gold and color, but usually with plates of richly-colored marbles and porphyries, arranged so as to form patterns; sometimes, however, stucco painting was the cheaper substitute. When the building was of brick, the same decoration, by means of marble slabs or stucco, was designed for the whole exterior of the building. The doors were of bronze, adorned with sculptures in relief, and frequently gilt; or of wood, richly inlaid or carved. Curtains of the richest stuffs, often of purple or scarlet embroidered with gold, hung at the doors to exclude the heat of summer or the cold of winter, while the doors stood open.

“In the interior, the whole floor was covered with tessellated pavement, or with slabs of many-colored marbles arranged in beautiful patterns. The aisles were separated from the nave by ranges of marble columns, whose capitals supported either arches or horizontal architraves. The great width of the nave—in a first-class basilica frequently more than eighty feet—and the forest of columns on either hand (one of the colonnades often containing twenty-four or more columns), when there were double aisles, produced an architectural effect of great magnificence. The clerestory wall, above the first colonnade of pillars in the nave, was pierced by numerous immense win-

dows with arched heads, one of which was over each intercolumniation. These windows were, no doubt, divided by columns or pilasters and architraves, and the divisions fitted with slabs of marble pierced in a variety of patterns, and fitted with either alabaster or plain or colored glass. The roof was flat and of wood; where magnificence was sought, it was richly adorned with carving and gilt. The semi-dome, which covered the apse, was covered with mosaic pictures, the subject being mainly Christ, either seated or standing, with his apostles ranged on either hand. Where a transept was built, it was usually divided from the nave by an arch, the face of which, fronting the nave, was often also covered with mosaics; a colossal bust of Christ was often the central object of the picture, being placed above the crown of the arch, while on either side and below are represented the seven candlesticks, the symbols of the evangelists, and the twenty-four elders.

“The apse was furnished with a bench following its circumference, for the higher clergy, in the center of which was a raised seat (*cathedra*) for the bishop; the altar was usually placed on the chord of the apse on the top of a flight of steps, and parted off from the nave by railings (*cancelli*). Below it was often a platform or space, and this a quadrangular, usually oblong, inclosure (*chorus*), in which the singers and readers were stationed. This inclosure was formed by railings, or dwarf walls, and connected with these was the ambo, or reading desk. In this space probably benches were provided; but the rest of the Church was left altogether open and free. The seats in the chorus for the men of rank on the right, and women

of the same degree on the left, were either of marble or of carved wood, in many instances gilded, the railings of the same material or bronze. Over the altar was a lofty and richly-decorated canopy (ciborium), from the arches of which hung curtains of stuffs of the richest colors, interwoven with gold. Curtains like these often depended from the arches of the nave, and hung at the doors. Vases, crowns, and lamps of silver or gold hung from the arches, or were placed upon the dwarf walls, or partitions, which separated the various divisions of the edifice."

The second turning point was the fall of Rome. One thing could have averted it. In the East it was averted, and the mightiest contributing cause was that Christianity became the re-
The Fall of Rome.
ligion of the entire population—of the higher classes as well as of the lower orders. Thus all were united in resisting the onset of the invaders. In the West the aristocracy and the governing classes remained heathen until the overthrow of the State. There was no union of the entire population to preserve the empire; but the barbarians were hired as mercenaries, and their chiefs given great offices and commands, in hope that they would protect those incapable of rallying the natural defenders of the country against their foes. Then the virus of the Roman heathenism had so corrupted society that the real heathenism was not changed by a nominal profession of Christianity. After Treves, the capital of Eastern Gaul, had been taken and burned by the Franks, the first building re-erected was the theater, which was soon filled with the crowds of idle, worthless spectators. "The world laughs and dies," said Salvian. So great was the cor-

ruption in North Africa that the Romans themselves said that only the Vandal invaders restored chastity.

The fall of the empire brought the overthrow of the old culture and civilization in the West and its limitation in the East. Arts, literature, and learning necessarily decayed. Not only was no advance possible, but there was a retrogression for centuries. The rudeness of barbarism, slowly groping toward civilization, covered all the lands of the West. Only the remnants of culture and the arts of life remained. These were preserved by the Church, but purged, of course, from the old leaven of idolatry, cruelty, and licentiousness. In the East the splendid reign of Justinian displayed a remarkable development of architecture, and secured the codification of the Roman law. The Church, which had overthrown the heathen civilization, had now to undertake the training of the new races who were to form the new world. She did not fail in her task, but she herself suffered grievous loss. The ignorance, superstition, the violence and crudeness of those ages, left its mark, not only on society, but on the Church. The Christian life, the worship, and the theology, were coarsened and materialized by it. From Augustine, 354-429, to Anselm, 1033-1109, is a long distance; but in that time arose no great theological thinker of eminence, and very few men of the learning of Bede or Alcuin appeared in the intervening centuries. This influence became marked in the time from Chrysostom to Gregory. Prof. Harnack has pointed out the change between the Church of Eusebius, 260-340, free from the worship of saints and intercessions with

Loss
through the
Barbarian
Conquest.

God, from the use of amulets and other heathen practices, and that of Sozomen's day, one hundred years later, which had already become brutish, monkish, and superstitious. A superstition was always ready, and deceptions were often knowingly furthered by the priests, or at least not rebuked, for fear of injuring the faith of the people. If practice or belief were deemed pious, they did not inquire whether it were true.

There were no decisions of the Œcumenical Councils of this period which go beyond the faith held in common by Protestants and Roman Catholics; but there were popularly-accepted doctrines and practices which we can not but regard as perversions of the simplicity and purity of the gospel. Such were the doctrines of the transformation, if not transubstantiation of the elements in the Lord's Supper; the sacerdotal office and power of the priest; the jurisdiction of the Pope; the teaching of purgatory and the merit of good works. Such were the usages of an elaborate and priestly liturgical worship, the worship of saints and angels, the veneration of relics, the practices of pilgrimages, and, above all, the celibacy of the clergy and the monastic orders, with the usurpation and moral corruption which accompany it. All these come in after 250. Above all, the old joy of Christian life had fled. Gregoria, a lady in waiting to the empress at Constantinople, wrote to Gregory I that he must assure her by revelation of the forgiveness of her sins. In his reply he wrote: "Thou must not surrender thyself to full security on account of thy sins, till on the day of thy death thou canst weep for them no more. Till that day comes, thou must ever fear and tremble

on account of thy sins." How different from the words of the Savior: "Thy sins, which are many, are all forgiven thee;" from the words of St. Paul: "In whom we *have* redemption, even the forgiveness of sins!" How different from the faith and joy of the early Church!

Yet in spite of these declensions, there were immense gains, which civilization has never lost. Idolatry and bloody sacrifices perished from the vast domain conquered by Christianity. This was the first and greatest achievement. Bloody spectacles and games, public licentiousness, and nameless vice disappeared with heathenism. Marriage had a sanction and a sacredness, the home a purity, and woman a position of honor before unknown. Mercy came into the public law and civil society through the Church. She had been a stranger to the heathen civilization. The children, widows, orphans, slaves, prisoners, the sick and the maimed, the wretched debtor, and the outcast, felt her blessed presence, and rejoiced in her healing, helpful ministry. Christianity brought in the public worship of the congregation. The worship of the heathen is always private, or state or tribal function. Christian worship of the Heavenly Father and the common hope of immortality formed the most universal, profound, and permanent of social ties. The Christian doctrine of universal brotherhood was the source of all social amelioration and political advance. Christians should always remember that we owe to the Church of this age the collection and preservation of the writings of the New Testament, and its use as a standard both of life and doctrine. No other

**The Gain to
Civilization
through the
Church.**

service can exceed this. We owe to it the heroism of martyrdom and the faith that faced the world and conquered it. We owe to it the shaping of those doctrines of the nature of God and of the Redeemer, of sin and redemption, which are distinctively Christian. We owe to it the discipline, first of the Church, and then of the monastery which preserved moral standards and exalted moral purity. We can not but be touched by the spirit that left all that men hold dear to draw near and converse with God; that shrunk from no sacrifice to minister to human suffering and distress. Prayer and mercy have their lessons for every age.

With what a company of noble men and saintly women we have journeyed through these change-ful centuries! What national history can show men of higher character, loftier achievements! Athanasius and Ambrose, Leo and Gregory, would rank as great statesmen in any age. Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome have rarely been equaled among scholars. Irenæus and Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustine, traced the paths in which, during the ages since, the Christian thinkers have walked. What orator has surpassed Chrysostom in persuasiveness, or Tertul-
The Noble
Company of
Men and
Women who
Founded the
New World.
lian in impassioned advocacy? In practical philan-thropy few have wrought so effectively as Basil and Benedict! Women like Monica and Anthusa glorify motherhood. Scholastica, the sister of Benedict, and Olympias, the friend of Chrysostom, are types of women whose love and service in every age have made pure and strong the Church. How high is the average of moral character and attainment! Men

like Cyprian and Augustine, Leo and Gregory—the influence of many of whose opinions we deplore—were men of pure motives and exalted character. The very heretics, like Marcion and Arius, command our respect. If the style in which the Christian fathers wrote is often not as attractive as the thought conveyed, and we are repelled by diffuseness or lack of form, or, as is sometimes the case, turgid ornament, let us remember that they wrote in the decline of letters, and apply Macaulay's test of comparing these authors with their contemporaries, and we shall not need to defend them, even upon the score of style. No Latin authors of the time surpass Tertullian, Augustine, or Jerome, and the same is true of the Greek fathers, like Athanasius, the Gregorys, and Chrysostom.

The violence of prelates like Cyril and Dioscurus of Alexandria; the weakness of those like Liberius and Vigilius of Rome; the bitterness of
 Darker Shades. theological controversy, the ignorance and sordidness of the monks, the heathenism in life and worship, which in the last two centuries crowded out the sermon and the Scriptures, and brought in the saints and magic, are the dark spots in the picture.

But what age has ever surpassed the Church of fellowship and martyrdom; of spiritual gifts and conquest? What religious ideas have ever
 Conclusion. wrought such immense and beneficial changes in human society? We who have stood at the fountain-head and traced the stream from its source, may well be assured of the supreme might and majesty of those spiritual forces which Christianity has made the possession of mankind; that no ex-

ternal foe can check her career of universal conquest; that the only foes that can endanger her are inward ones; that while she needs to be abreast, if not leading the intellectual advance, the conquests of truth, and the material forces of each age; yet the symbol of her unity as the seal of her conquest is the abiding Christ in the human heart, in human life, and in human society. By this sign she conquers. As we close our survey, Western Christendom is slowly emerging from barbarism, and yet for six hundred years successive attacks of heathen invaders are to be repelled, and heathen nations—Saxons, Danes, Scandinavians, and the Slavic people—are to be converted to the Christian faith. Above lowers the cloud of the Mohammedan conquests, which are to wrest the fairest provinces from the Eastern Empire and the holy places of the faith from Christendom. Yet we sing with Cromwell's charging pikemen the words of the Hebrew psalmist, "God is in the midst of her, God shall help her, and that right early;" and, in the words of the old Byzantine motto, pray, "Light of Christ, shine on all." Yea, in the full assurance of faith, we join in the prayer of all Christians, of every name, of every age, and all lands, the holy Church alike in earth and heaven, "Thy kingdom come."

THE END.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, pp. 57, 206.—RESIDENCE OF ST. PETER IN ROME.—The Roman Catholic tradition of a twenty-five years' residence and rule of St. Peter in Rome is certainly false. On the other hand, the tradition as to his death in Rome is uncontradicted by any evidence in favor of any other city or place. It is traced back to the first century, as it is referred to in a letter of Clement of Rome, between 90 and 100. The archæological evidence, though of a latter date, is altogether in its favor. From all the evidence now at hand, the author regards the tradition that St. Peter was martyred at Rome under Nero, in spite of the lack of any reference to him in the letters of St. Paul, as historically true.

NOTE B, p. 276.—MODE OF BAPTISM.—The usual mode of baptism was by immersion. This is the mode in use in the Greek Church from the earliest times, and in the Roman Catholic Church ordinarily, until the latter part of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, in all probability, other modes of baptism were in use from the beginning. The baptisms recorded in the sixteenth of Acts, were more probably by pouring or sprinkling than by immersion. If the early Church baptized for the dead, there is no probability that the sick died unbaptized when they could not be immersed. A choice of modes is given in the Teaching of the Twelve, dating from 110. So one mode at that date, and probably from the first, was not essential to the sacrament. To this agrees the representation of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Most of the representations of baptism, which the author has seen in the Catacombs, represent pouring rather than immersion. Yet a drawing on a pontifical in Rome of the ninth century represents baptism, both adult and infant, by immersion.

No denomination of Christians at the present day baptizes as did the early Church. Then the candidates immersed themselves three times in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, standing in water up to the waist, and dipping the head under water three times. This shows how the multitudes of barbarians were baptized in the rivers in Germany and Russia.

NOTE C, p. 316.—THE POPULATION OF ROME.—The latest researches, notably those of Professor Lanciani, show that at the height of its power, the population of ancient Rome was not more than one million. While the numbers given in the text are thus reduced, the slave was probably greater, rather than less, than the free population.

NOTE.

PROFESSOR HARNACK gives the following chronology of Paul's life and writings:

Paul's conversion, 29 or 30 A. D., within a year or year and a half of the death of our Lord.

Paul in Arabia until 33 A. D.

Finished the First Missionary Journey, 47 A. D.

Council at Jerusalem, 47 A. D.

Second and Third Missionary Journeys of Paul, from 47 to 54 A. D.

1 and 2 Thessalonians were written, 48 or 49 A. D.

Galatians, 53 A. D.

1 and 2 Corinthians, 53 A. D.

Romans, winter 53 and 54 A. D.

Paul leaves Corinth, 54 A. D.

He is in Jerusalem and arrested, spring of 54 A. D.

Paul in prison at Cæsarea, from 54 to 56 A. D.

Arrives in Rome, spring of 57 A. D.

In prison at Rome, from 57 to 59 A. D.

Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians written, 57-59 A. D.

From the end of the Acts until Paul's death, 59-64 A. D., five years. This gives ample time for the pastoral epistles, Titus and 1 and 2 Timothy.

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